THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. PATRICK's, Dublin.

VOLUME XVI.

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SENT TO

DOCTOR SWIFT,

BY

A QUAKER,

When three hundred pounds were bid for taking up the DRAPIER.

1 SAM. Chap. xiv. Ver. 45.

" AND the people ſaid unto *Saul*, Shall *Jona-*
" *than* die, who hath wrought this great ſal-
" vation in Iſrael? God forbid: As the LORD
" liveth, there ſhall not one hair of his head fall to
" the ground; for he wrought with GOD this day.
" So the people reſcued *Jonathan*, that he died
" not."

A

LETTER, from Sir JOHN BROWNE

TO

DOCTOR SWIFT.

Dawson Street, April 4, 1728.

REVEREND SIR,

BY a ſtrange fatality, though you were the only perſon in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the ſecret of it: the ignorant poor man, who was entruſted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the ſecret from all others, yet, from the nature of the ſubject, concluded that I could have no intereſt in concealing it from you, who were ſo univerſally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the general welfare of *Ireland*. But, though the accident gave me ſome uneaſineſs at firſt; yet, when I conſider your character, I cannot doubt (however ſlender the foundation of ſuch a hope may be from any merits of my own) your generoſity will oblige you to conceal what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I ſhall

AN

ENQUIRY

Into the BEHAVIOUR of the QUEEN'S LAST MINISTRY,

With relation to their

QUARRELS among themſelves, and the deſign charged upon them of altering the Succeſſion of the Crown.

JUNE MDCCXV.

SINCE the death of the Queen, it was reaſonable enough for me to conclude that I had done with all public affairs and ſpeculations: beſides, the ſcene and ſtation I am in have reduced my thoughts into a narrow compaſs: and being wholly excluded from any view of favour under the preſent adminiſtration, upon that invincible reaſon of having been in ſome degree of truſt and confidence with the former, I have not found the tranſition very difficult into a private life, for which I am better qualified both by nature and education.

The reading of, and enquiring after, news not being one of my diverſions, having always diſliked a mixed and general converſation, which, however it fell to my lot, is now in my power to avoid; and

and being placed, by the duties of my function, at a great distance from the seat of business; I am altogether ignorant of many common events which happen in the world: only, from the little I know and hear, it is manifest that the hearts of most men are filled with doubts, fears, and jealousies, or else with hatred and rage, to a degree that there seems to be an end of all amicable commerce between people of different parties; and what the consequences of this may be, let those consider who have contributed to the causes; which, I thank God, is no concern of mine.

There are two points, with reference to the conduct of the late ministry, much insisted on, and little understood by those who write or talk upon that subject; wherein I am sufficiently qualified to give satisfaction; and would gladly do it, because I see very much weight laid upon each, and most mens opinions of persons and things regulated accordingly.

About two months before the queen's death, having lost all hopes of any reconcilement between the treasurer and the rest of the ministry, I retired into the country, to await the issue of that conflict, which ended, as every one had reason to foresee, in the earl of *Oxford's* disgrace; to whom the lord *Bolingbroke* immediately succeeded as first minister: and I was told, that an earldom and the garter were intended for him in a fortnight, and the treasurer's staff against the next session of parliament; of which I can say nothing certain, being then in

Berkshire, and receiving this acount from some of his friends; but all these schemes became soon abortive, by the death of the queen, which happened in three days after the earl of *Oxford's* removal.

Upon this great event, I took the first opportunity of withdrawing to my place of residence; and rejoiced as much as any man for his majesty's quiet accession to the throne, to which I then thought, and it has since appeared indisputable, that the peace procured by the late ministry had, among other good effects, been highly instrumental. And I thank God, I have been ever since a loyal humble spectator, during all the changes that have happened, although it were no secret to any man of common sagacity, that his present majesty's choice of his servants, whenever he should happen to succeed, would be determined to those who most opposed the proceedings during the four last years of his predecessor's reign: and, I think, there hath not since happened one particular of any moment, which the ministers did not often mention at their tables, as what they certainly expected, from the disposition of the court at *Hanover* in conjunction with the party at home, which, upon all occasions, publicly disapproved their proceedings, excepting only the attainder of the duke of *Ormond*; which, indeed, neither they, nor I, nor, I believe, any one person in the three kingdoms, did ever pretend to foresee; and, now it is done, it looks like a dream to those, who consider the nobleness of his birth, the great merits of his ancestors, and his own;

 his

his long unſpotted loyalty, his affability, generoſity, and ſweetneſs of nature. I knew him long and well, and, excepting the frailties of his youth, which had been for ſome years over, and that eaſineſs of temper which did ſometimes lead him to follow the judgment of thoſe who had, by many degrees, leſs underſtanding than himſelf, I have not converſed with a more faultleſs perſon; of great juſtice and charity; a true ſenſe of religion, without oſtentation; of undoubted valour, thoroughly ſkilled in his trade of a ſoldier; a quick and ready apprehenſion, with a good ſhare of underſtanding, and a general knowledge in men and hiſtory; although under ſome diſadvantage by an invincible modeſty, which however could not but render him yet more amiable to thoſe who had the honour and happineſs of being thoroughly acquainted with him. This is a ſhort imperfect character of that great perſon the duke of *Ormond*, who is now attainted for high treaſon; and, therefore, I ſhall not preſume to offer one ſyllable in his vindication, upon that head, againſt the deciſion of a parliament. Yet this, I think, may be allowed me to believe, or at leaſt to hope, that when, by the direct and repeated commands of the queen, his miſtreſs, he committed thoſe faults for which he hath now forfeited his country, his titles, and his fortune; he no more conceived himſelf to be acting high-treaſon, than he did when he was wounded and a priſoner at *London*, for his ſovereign king *William*, or when he took and burned the enemy's fleet at *Vigo*.

Upon

Upon this occaſion, although I am ſenſible it is an old precept of wiſdom to admire at nothing in human life, yet I conſider, at the ſame time, how eaſily ſome men arrive at the practice of this maxim, by the help of plain ſtupidity or ill-nature, without any ſtrain of philoſophy; and, although the uncertainty of human things be one of the moſt obvious reflexions in morality, yet, ſuch unexpected, ſudden, and ſignal inſtances of it, as have lately happened among us, are ſo much out of the uſual form, that a wiſe man may, perhaps, be allowed to ſtart and look aſide, as at a ſudden and violent clap of thunder, which is much more frequent, and more natural.

And here I cannot but lament my own particular misfortune; who, having ſingled out three perſons from among the reſt of mankind, on whoſe friendſhip and protection I might depend, whoſe converſation I moſt valued, and chiefly confined myſelf to, ſhould live to ſee them all, within the compaſs of a year, accuſed of high-treaſon; two of them attainted and in exile, and the third under his trial, whereof God knows what may be the iſſue. As my own heart was free from all treaſonable thoughts, ſo I did little imagine myſelf to be perpetually in the company of traitors. But *the faſhion of this world paſſeth away.* Having already ſaid ſomething of the duke of *Ormond*, I ſhall add a little towards the characters of the other two. It happens to very few men, in any age or country, to come into the world with ſo many advantages of nature and

and fortune, as the late secretary *Bolingbroke:* descended from the best families in *England*, heir to a great patrimonial estate, of a sound constitution, and a most graceful, amiable person: but all these, had they been of equal value, were infinitely below in degree, to the accomplishments of his mind, which was adorned with the choicest gifts that God hath yet thought fit to bestow upon the children of men; a strong memory, a clear judgment, a vast range of wit and fancy, a thorough comprehension, an invincible eloquence, with a most agreeable elocution. He had well cultivated all these talents by travel and study, the latter of which he seldom omitted, even in the midst of his pleasures, of which he had indeed been too great and criminal a pursuer: for, although he was persuaded to leave off intemperance in wine, which he did for some time to such a degree that he seemed rather abstemious; yet he was said to allow himself other liberties, which can by no means be reconciled to religion or morals; whereof, I have reason to believe, he began to be sensible. But he was fond of mixing pleasure and business, and of being esteemed excellent at both; upon which account, he had a great respect for the characters of *Alcibiades* and *Petronius*, especially the latter, whom he would gladly be thought to resemble. His detractors charged him him with some degree of affectation, and, perhaps not altogether without grounds; since it was hardly possible for a young man, with half the business of the nation upon him and the applause of the whole,

whole, to eſcape ſome tincture of that infirmity. He had been early bred to buſineſs, was a moſt artful negotiator, and perfectly underſtood foreign affairs. But what I have often wondered at in a man of his temper was, his prodigious application whenever he thought it neceſſary; for he would plod whole days and nights, like the loweſt clerk in an office. His talent of ſpeaking in public, for which he was ſo very much celebrated, I know nothing of, except from the informations of others; but underſtanding men, of both parties, have aſſured me, that, in this point, in their memory and judgment, he was never equalled.

The earl of *Oxford* is a perſon of as much virtue as can poſſible conſiſt with the love of power; and his love for power is no greater than what is common to men of his ſuperior capacities; neither did any man ever appear to value it leſs after he had obtained it, or exert it with more moderation. He is the only inſtance, that ever fell within my memory or obſervation, of a perſon paſſing from a private life, through the ſeveral ſtages of greatneſs, without any perceivable impreſſion upon his temper or behaviour. As his own birth was illuſtrious, being deſcended from the heirs-general of the *Veres* and the *Mortimers*, ſo he ſeemed to value that accidental advantage in himſelf, and others, more than it could pretend to deſerve. He abounded in good-nature and good humour; although ſubject to paſſion, as I have heard it affirmed by others, and owned by himſelf; which, however, he kept under

the ſtricteſt government, till towards the end of his miniſtry, when he began to grow ſoured, and to ſuſpect his friends; and, perhaps, thought it not worth his pains to manage any longer. He was a great favourer of men of wit and learning, particularly the former, whom he careſſed without diſtinction of party, and could not endure to think that any of them ſhould be his enemies; and it was his good fortune that none of them ever appeared to be ſo; at leaſt, if one may judge by the libels and pamphlets publiſhed againſt him, which he frequently read, by way of amuſement, with a moſt unaffected indifference: neither do I remember ever to have endangered his good opinion ſo much as by appearing angry when the dealers in that kind of writing firſt began to pour out their ſcurrilities againſt me; which, he thought, was a weakneſs altogether inexcuſable in a man of virtue and liberal education. He had the greateſt variety of knowledge that I have any where met; was a perfect maſter of the learned languages, and well ſkilled in divinity. He had a prodigious memory, and a moſt exact judgement. In drawing up any ſtate-paper, no man had more proper thoughts, or put them in ſo ſtrong and clear a light. Although his ſtyle were not always correct, which, however, he knew how to mend; yet often, to ſave time, he would leave the ſmaller alterations to others. I have heard that he ſpoke but ſeldom in parliament, and then rather with art than eloquence: but no man equalled him in the knowledge of our conſti-

tution;

tution; the reputation whereof made him be chosen speaker to three successive parliaments; which office I have often heard his enemies allow him to have executed with universal applause: his sagacity was such, that I could produce very amazing instances of it, if they were not unseasonable. In all difficulties, he immediately found the true point that was to be pursued, and adhered to it: and one or two others in the ministry have confessed very often to me, that, after having condemned his opinion, they found him in the right, and themselves in the wrong." He was utterly a stranger to fear; and, consequently, had a presence of mind upon all emergencies. His liberality and contempt of money, were such, that he almost ruined his estate while he was in employment; yet his avarice for the public was so great, that it neither consisted with the present corruptions of the age, nor the circumstances of the time. He was seldom mistaken in his judgment of men, and therefore not apt to change a good or ill opinion by the representation of others; except toward the end of his ministry. He was affable and courteous, extremely easy and agreeable in conversation, and altogether disengaged; regular in his life, with great appearance of piety; nor ever guilty of any expressions that could possibly tend to what was indecent or prophane. His imperfections were, at least, as obvious, although not so numerous, as his virtues. He had an air of secrecy in his manner and countenance, by no means proper for a great minister, because

it

it warns all men to prepare againſt it. He often gave no anſwer at all, and very ſeldom a direct one: and I the rather blame this reſervedneſs of temper, becauſe I have known a very different practice ſucceed much better: of which, among others, the late earl of *Sunderland*, and the preſent lord *Sommers*, perſons of great abilities, are remarkable inſtances; who uſed to talk in ſo frank a manner, that they ſeemed to diſcover the bottom of their hearts, and, by that appearance of confidence, would eaſily unlock the breaſts of others. But the earl of *Oxford* pleads, in excuſe of this charge, that he hath ſeldom or never communicated any thing which was of importance to be concealed, wherein he hath not been deceived by the vanity, treachery, or indiſcretion of thoſe he diſcovered it to. Another of his imperfections, univerſally known and complained of, was procraſtination, or delay; which was, doubtleſs, natural to him, although he often bore the blame without the guilt, and when the remedy was not in his power; for never were prince and miniſter better matched than his ſovereign and he, upon that article: and, therefore, in the diſpoſal of employments, wherein the queen was very abſolute, a year would often paſs before they could come to a determination. I remember he was likewiſe heavily charged with the common court vice, of promiſing very liberally, and ſeldom performing; of which, although I cannot altogether acquit him, yet, I am confident, his intentions

were

were generally better than his disappointed solicitors would believe. It may be likewise said of him, that he certainly did not value, or did not understand, the art of acquiring friends; having made very few during the time of his power, and contracted a great number of enemies. Some of us used to observe, that those whom he talked well of, or suffered to be often near him, were not in a situation of much advantage; and that his mentioning others with contempt, or dislike, was no hindrance at all to their preferment. I have dwelt the longer upon this great man's character, because I have observed it so often mistaken by the wise reasoners of both parties: besides, having had the honour, for almost four years, of a nearer acquaintance with him than usually happens to men of my level, and this without the least mercenary obligation, I thought it lay in my power, as I am sure it is in my will, to represent him to the world with impartiality and truth.

Having often considered the qualities and dispositions of these two ministers, I am at a loss to think how it should come to pass that men of exalted abilities, when they are called to public affairs, are generally drawn into inconveniencies and misfortunes, which others, of ordinary talents, avoid; whereof there appear so many examples, both antient and modern, and of our own as well as other countries. I cannot think this to have been altogether the effect of envy, as it is usually imputed in the cases of *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, *Scipio*, and others; and of sir *Walter Raleigh*, the earls of *Clarendon* and *Stafford*, here

here in *England.* But I look upon it, that God, intending the government of a nation in the ſeveral branches and ſubordinations of power, hath made the ſcience of governing ſufficiently obvious to common capacities; otherwiſe the world would be left in a deſolate condition, if great affairs did always require a great genius, whereof the moſt fruitful age will hardly produce above three or four in a nation, among which, princes, who, of all other mortals, are the worſt educated, have twenty millions to one againſt them that they ſhall not be of the number: and proportionable odds, for the ſame reaſons, are againſt every one of noble birth, or great eſtates.

Accordingly we find, that the dulleſt nations, antient and modern, have not wanted good rules of policy, or perſons qualified for adminiſtration. But I take the infelicity of ſuch extraordinary men to have been cauſed by their neglect of common forms, together with the contempt of *little helps* and *little hindrances*; which is made, by *Hobbes*, the definition of magnanimity: and this contempt, as it certainly diſpleaſes the people in general, ſo it giveth offence to all with whom ſuch miniſters have to deal: for I never yet knew a miniſter, who was not earneſtly deſirous to have it thought, that the art of government was a moſt profound ſcience; whereas it requires no more, in reality, than diligence, honeſty, and a moderate ſhare of plain natural ſenſe. And, therefore, men thus qualified may, very *reaſonably* and juſtly, think that the buſineſs of the world is beſt brought about by regularity and forms, wherein

them-

themselves excel. For I have frequently observed more causes of discontent arise from the practice of some refined ministers, to act in common business, out of the common road, than from all the usual topics of displeasure against men in power. It is the same thing in other scenes of life, and among all societies or communities; where no men are better trusted, or have more success in business, than those who, with some honesty and a moderate portion of understanding, are strict observers of time, place, and method: and, on the contrary, nothing is more apt to expose men to the censure and obloquy of their collegues and the public, than a contempt or neglect of these circumstances, however attended with a superior genius, and an equal desire of doing good; which hath made me sometimes say, to a great person of this latter character [e], that a small infusion of the *alderman* was necessary to those who are employed in public affairs. Upon this occasion, I cannot forget a very trifling instance: that one day observing the same person to divide a sheet of paper with a penknife, that sharpness of the instrument occasioned it's moving so irregularly and crooked, that he spoiled the whole sheet; whereupon I advised him to take example by his clerks, who performed that operation much better with a blunt piece of ivory, which, directed by a little strength and a steady hand, never failed to go right.

[e] Lord *Bolingbroke*.

But,

But, to return from this long digreſſion: about a fortnight after the queen's death, I came to my place of reſidence, where I was immediately attacked with heat enough by ſeveral of my acquaintance of both parties; and ſoon learned, that what they objected was the general ſenſe of the reſt. Thoſe of the church-ſide made me a thouſand reproaches upon the ſlowneſs and inactivity of my friends, upon their fooliſh quarrels with each other, for no viſible cauſe, and thereby ſacrificing the intereſts of the church and kingdom to their private piques; and that they had neglected to cultivate the favour and good-opinion of the court at *Hanover*. But the weight of theſe gentlemen's diſpleaſure fell upon the earl of *Oxford*; that he had acted a trimming part; was never thoroughly in the intereſt of the church, but held ſeparate commerce with the adverſe party: that, either from his negligence, procraſtinating nature, or ſome ſiniſter end, he had let ſlip many opportunities of ſtrengthening the church's friends: that he undertook more buſineſs than he was equal to, affected a monopoly of power, and would concert nothing with the reſt of the miniſters. Many facts were likewiſe mentioned, which it may not now be very prudent to repeat: I ſhall only take notice of one, relating to *Ireland*, where he kept four biſhopricks undiſpoſed of, though often and moſt earneſtly preſſed to have them filled; by which omiſſion, the church-intereſt of that kingdom, in the houſe of lords, is in danger of being irrecoverably loſt.

Thoſe

Those who discoursed with me after this manner, did, at the same time, utterly renounce all regard for the pretender; and mentioned, with pleasure, the glorious opportunity, then in his majesty's hands, of putting an end to party-distinctions for the time to come: and the only apprehension that seemed to give them any uneasiness was, lest the zeal of the party in power might not, perhaps, represent their loyalty with advantage.

On the other side, the gainers and men in hopes by the queen's death talked with great freedom in a very different stile: they all directly asserted, that the whole late ministry were fully determined to bring in the pretender, although they would sometimes a little demur upon the earl of *Oxford*; and by a more modern amendment, they charged the same accusation, without any reserve, upon the late queen herself. That, if her majesty had died but a month later, our ruin would have been inevitable. But in that juncture it happened (to use their own term, which I could never prevail with them to explain), *things were not ripe.* That this accusation would, in a short time, infallibly be proved as clear as the sun at noon-day to all the world: and the consequences naturally following from these positions were, that the leaders ought to lose their hands, and all their abettors be utterly stript of power and favour.

These being the sentiments and discourses of both parties, tending to load the late ministry with faults of a very different nature, it may, perhaps, be either

either of ſome uſe or ſatisfaction to examine thoſe two points; that is to ſay, firſt, how far theſe miniſters are anſwerable to their friends for their neglect, miſmanagement, and mutual diſſenſions: and, ſecondly, with what juſtice they are accuſed, by their enemies, for endeavouring to alter the ſucceſſion of the crown in favour of the pretender.

It is true, indeed, I have occaſionally done this already in two ſeveral treatiſes, of which the one is an Hiſtory, and the other Memoirs of particular facts, but neither of them fit to ſee the light at preſent; becauſe they abound with characters freely drawn, and many of them not very amiable; and, therefore, intended only for the inſtructing of the next age, and eſtabliſhing the reputation of thoſe who have been uſeful to their country in the preſent. At the ſame time I take this opportunity of aſſuring thoſe who may happen, ſome years hence, to read the Hiſtory I have written, that the blackeſt characters to be met with in it were not drawn with the leaſt mixture of malice or ill-will, but merely to expoſe the odiouſneſs of vice. For I have always held it as a maxim, that ill men are placed beyond the reach of an hiſtorian, who indeed hath it in his power to reward virtue, but not to puniſh vice: becauſe I never yet ſaw a profligate perſon, who ſeemed to have the leaſt regard in what manner his name ſhould be tranſmitted to poſterity: And I knew a certain lord [ſ], not long ſince dead, who I am very

[ſ] Earl of *Wharton*.

confi-

confident, would not have disposed of one single shilling to have had it in his choice, whether he should be represented to future ages as an *Atticus* or a *Catiline*.

However, being firmly resolved, for *very material reasons*, to avoid giving the least offence to any party or person in power; I shall barely set down some facts and circumstances, during the four last years of queen *Ann's* reign, which at present are little known; and whereby those of the church-party, who object against the unsteadiness, neglect and want of concert in the late ministry, may better account for their faults. Most of those facts I can bear witness of myself, and have received the rest from sufficient authority.

It is most certain, that, when the queen first began to change her servants, it was not from a dislike of things, but of persons, and those persons were a very small number. To be more particular, would be *incedere per ignes*. It was the issue of Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial that encouraged her to proceed so far; and several of the low-church party, knowing that her displeasure went no further than against one single family [g], did not appear to dislike what was done; of which I could give some extraordinary instances. But that famous trial had raised such a spirit in the nation, against the parliament, that her majesty thought it necessary to dissolve them, which, I am confident, she did not at first intend. Upon this re-

[g] Duke of *Somerset*

ſolution, delivered by the queen, at council, in a more determinate manner than was uſual with her, as I was particularly informed by my lord *Sommers*, then preſident, ſome, who were willing to ſacrifice one or two perſons, would not ſacrifice their cauſe; but immediately flew off: and the great officers of the court and kingdom began to reſign their employments, which the queen ſuffered moſt of them to do with the utmoſt regret, and which thoſe who knew her beſt thought to be real, eſpecially lord *Sommers* and lord *Cowper*, for whom ſhe had as great a perſonal regard and eſteem, as her nature was capable of admitting, particularly for the former. The new parliament was called during that ferment in the nation, and a great majority of the church-party was returned, without the leaſt aſſiſtance from the court; whether to gain a reputation of impartiality, where they were ſecure; or, as Mr. *Harley's* detractors would have it (who was then miniſter), from a refinement of his politics, not to ſuffer, upon the account of I know not what wiſe reaſons, too great an inequality in the balance.

When the parliament met, they ſoon began to diſcover more zeal than the queen expected or deſired; ſhe had entertained the notion of forming a moderate or comprehenſive ſcheme, which ſhe maintained with great firmneſs, nor would ever depart from, until half a year before her death: but this neither the houſe of commons nor the kingdom in general were then at all inclined to admit, whatever they may have been in any juncture ſince: ſeveral coun-

try-

try-members, to almost a third part of the house, began immediately to form themselves into a body, under the fanatic name of the *October-club.* These daily pressed the ministry for a thorough change in employments, and were not put off without jealousy and discontent. I remember it was then commonly understood and expected, that, when the session ended, a general removal would be made: but it happened otherwise; for not only few or none were turned out, but much deliberation was used in supplying common vacancies by death. This manner of proceeding in a prime minister, I confess, appeared to me wholly unaccountable, and without example; and I was little satisfied with the solution I had heard, and partly knew, that he acted thus to keep men at his devotion, by letting expectation lie in common; for I found the effect did not answer, and that, in the mean time, he lead so uneasy a life, by solicitations and pursuits, as no man would endure who had a remedy at hand. About the beginning of his ministry, I did, at the request of several considerable persons, take the liberty of representing this matter to him; his answer was short and cold; That he hoped his friends would trust him; that he heartily wished none but those who loved the church and queen were employed; but that all things could not be done on a sudden. I have reason to believe, that his nearest acquaintance were then wholly at a loss what to think of his conduct. He was forced to preserve the opinion of power, without which he could not act, while, in reality, he had little or

none; and, beſides, he thought it became him to take the burthen of reproach upon himſelf, rather than lay it upon the queen his miſtreſs; who was grown very poſitive, ſlow, and ſuſpicious; and, from the opinion of having been formerly too much *directed*, fell into the other extreme, and became difficult to be *adviſed*. So that few miniſters had ever, perhaps, a harder game to play, between the jealouſy and diſcontents of his friends on one ſide, and the management of the queen's temper on the other.

There could hardly be a firmer friendſhip, in appearance, than what I obſerved between thoſe three great men, who were then chiefly truſted; I mean the lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*. I remember, in the infancy of their power, being at the table of the firſt, where they were all met, I could not forbear taking notice of the great affection they bore to each other; and ſaid, I would venture to propheſy, that, however inconſtant our court had hitherto been, their miniſtry would certainly laſt; for they had the church, the crown, and the people, entirely on their ſide: then it happened, that the public good and their private intereſt had the ſame bottom, which is a piece of good fortune that doth not always fall to the ſhare of men in power. But, principally, becauſe I obſerved they heartily loved one another; and I did not ſee how their kindneſs could be diſturbed by competition, ſince each of them ſeemed contented with his own diſtrict

so that, notwithstanding the old maxim, which pronounceth court friendships to be of no long duration, I was confident theirs would last as long as their lives. But, it seems, the inventor of that maxim happened to be a little wiser than I, who lived to see this friendship first degenerate into indifference and suspicion, and thence corrupt into the greatest animosity and hatred; contrary to all appearances, and much to the discredit of me and my sagacity. By what degrees, and from what causes, their dissensions grew, I shall, as far as it may be safe and convenient, very impartially relate.

When Mr. *Harley* was stabbed by *Guiscard*, the writer of a weekly paper, called *The Examiner* [*b*], taking occasion to reflect on that accident, happened to let fall an idle circumstance, I know not upon what grounds, that the *French* assassin confessed, he, at first, intended to have murdered Mr. secretary *St. John*; who sitting at too great a distance, he was forced to vent his rage on the other. Whether the secretary had been thus informed, or was content that others should believe it, I never yet could learn; but nothing could be more unfortunate than the tendency of such a report, which, by a very unfair decision, derived the whole merit of that accident to Mr. *St. John*, and left Mr. *Harley* nothing but the danger and the pain: of both which, although he had a sufficient share (his physicians being often under apprehensions for his life) yet I am confident the time of his illness was a

[*b*] See Vol. VIII. p. 175.

period of more quiet and eaſe than he ever enjoyed during the reſt of his adminiſtration. This report was not unreſented by Mr. *Harley's* friends; and the rather becauſe the fact was directly otherwiſe, as it ſoon appeared by *Guiſcard's* confeſſion.

While that miniſter lay ill of his wound, and his life in queſtion, the weight of buſineſs fell, in ſome meaſure, upon the ſecretary, who was not without ambition; which, I confeſs, I have ſeldom found among the wants of great men; and it was conceived that he had already entertained the thoughts of being at the head of affairs, in caſe Mr. *Harley* ſhould die; although, at the ſame time, I muſt do juſtice to Mr. *St. John*, by repeating what he ſaid to me, with great appearance of concern (and he was but an ill diſſembler), That, if Mr. *Harley's* accident ſhould prove fatal, it would be an irreparable loſs: That, as things then ſtood, his life was abſolutely neceſſary: That, as to himſelf, he was not maſter of the ſcheme by which they were to proceed, nor had credit enough with the queen; neither did he ſee how it would be poſſible for them, in ſuch a caſe, to wade through the difficulties they were then under. However, not to be over-particular in ſo nice a point, thus much is certain, that ſome things happened during Mr. *Harley's* confinement, which bred a coldneſs and jealouſy between thoſe two great men; and theſe, increaſing by many ſubſequent accidents, could never be removed.

Upon Mr. *Harley's* recovery, which was ſoon followed by his promotion to an earldom and the treaſu-

treaſurer's ſtaff, he was earneſtly preſſed to go on with the change of employments, for which his friends and the kingdom were very impatient; wherein I am confident, he was not unwilling to comply, if a new incident had not put further difficulties in his way. The queen having thought fit to take the key from the ducheſs of *Marlborough*, it was, after ſome time, given to another great lady [*t*], wholly in the intereſt of the oppoſite party; who, by a moſt obſequious behaviour, of which ſhe is a perfect miſtreſs, and the privileges of her place, which gave her continual acceſs, quickly won ſo far upon the affections of her majeſty, that ſhe had more perſonal credit than all the queen's ſervants put together. Of this lady's character and ſtory, having ſpoken ſo much in other papers, which may one day ſee the light, I ſhall only obſerve, that as ſoon as ſhe was fixed in her ſtation, the queen, following the courſe of her own nature, grew daily much more difficult and uncomplying. Some weak endeavours were, indeed, uſed to divert her majeſty from this choice; but ſhe continued ſteady, and pleaded, that, if ſhe might not have liberty to chuſe her own ſervants, ſhe could not ſee what advantage ſhe had gotten by the change of her miniſtry: and ſo little was her heart ſet upon what they call a high-church or tory adminiſtration, that ſeveral employments in court and country, and a great majority in all commiſſions, remained in the hands of

[*t*] Ducheſs of *Somerſet.*

thoſe

those who most opposed the present proceedings; nor do I remember that any removal of consequence was made till the winter following, when the earl of *Nottingham* was pleased to prepare and offer a vote in the house of lords, against any peace, while *Spain* continued in the hands of the *Bourbon* family. Of this vote the ministers had early notice; and, by casting up the numbers, concluded they should have a majority of ten to overthrow it. The queen was desired, and promised, to speak to a certain lord, who was looked upon as dubious. That lord attended accordingly, but heard not a word of the matter from her majesty, although she afterwards owned it was not for want of remembering, but from perfect indifference. The treasurer, who trusted to promises, and reckoned that others would trust to his, was, by a most unseasonable piece of parsimony, grosly deceived; and the vote carried against the court. The queen had the curiosity to be present at the debate; and appeared so little displeased at the event, or against those from whom she might have expected more compliance, that a person [*k*] in high station among her domestics, who, that day, in her presence, had shewn his utmost eloquence (such as it was) against the ministers, received a particular mark [*l*] of distinction and favour, which, by his post, he could not pretend to, and was not removed from her service but

[*k*] Duke of *Somerset*.
[*l*] To lead out the queen.

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with exceeding difficulty, many months after. And it is certain that this vote could not have been carried, if some persons, very near her majesty, had not given assurances where they were proper, that it would be acceptable to the queen, which her behaviour seemed to confirm.

But, when the consequences of this vote were calmly represented to her, that the limitation specified therein had wholly tied up her hands, in case the recovery of *Spain* should be found impossible, as it was frequently allowed and owned by many principal leaders of the opposite party, and had, hitherto, been vainly endeavoured, either by treaty or war: That the kingdom was not in a condition to bear any longer its burthen and charge, especially with annual additions: That other expedients might possibly be found for preventing *France* and *Spain* from being united under the same king, according to the intent and letter of the grand alliance: That the design of this vote was to put her majesty under the necessity of dissolving the parliament, beginning all things anew, and placing the administration in the hands of those whom she had thought fit to lay aside, and this by sacrificing her present servants to the rage and vengeance of the former; with many other obvious considerations, not very proper at this time to be repeated. Her majesty, who was earnestly bent upon giving peace to her people, consented to fall upon the sole expedient, that her own coldness or the treasurer's thrift and want or contempt of artifice had left her; which was, to

create

create a number of peers, ſufficient to turn the balance in the houſe of lords. I confeſs that, in my Hiſtory of thoſe times, where this matter, among others, is treated with a great deal more liberty, and conſequently very unfit for preſent peruſal, I have refined ſo far as to conjecture that if this were the treaſurer's counſel, he might poſſibly have given it upon ſome further views than that of avoiding the conſequences of my lord *Nottingham's* vote. And what thoſe were, I ſuppoſe, I may offer without offence. It is known enough, that, from the time of the Revolution to the period I am now ſpeaking of, the favour of the court was almoſt perpetually turned towards thoſe who, in the party-term, are called whigs, or the low-church; and this was a ſpace of above twenty years, wherein great additions were made to the peerage; and the biſhops-bench almoſt wholly renewed. But, the majority of landed men ſtill retaining the old church-principles in religion and government, notwithſtanding all endeavours to convert them, the late king was under many inſuperable difficulties during the courſe of his reign; elections ſeldom ſucceeding ſo well, as to leave the court-ſide without ſtrenuous oppoſition, ſufficient to carry many points againſt him, which he had much at heart. Upon the late queen's ſucceeding to the crown, the church-party, who ſeemed to have grown more numerous under all diſcouragements, began to conceive hopes, that her majeſty, who had always profeſſed to favour their principles, would make uſe of their ſervice. And, indeed, upon that foot, things ſtood for ſome time: but, a new war being

being resolved on, three persons, who had most credit with her majesty, and who were then looked upon to be, at least, as high principled as could possibly consist with the Protestant succession, having consulted their friends, began to conceive that the military spirit was much more vigorous in the other party, who appeared more keen against *France*, more sanguine upon the power and wealth of *England*, and better versed in the arts of finding out funds, to which they had been so long used. There were some other motives for this transition of the ministers at that time, which are more proper for the History above-mentioned, where they are faithfully recorded. But thus the queen was brought to govern by what they call a low-church ministry, which continued for several years: till, at length, grown weary of the war, although carried on with great glory and success, and the nation rising into a flame (whether justly or no) upon the trial of Dr. *Sacheverel*, which, in effect, was a general muster of both parties; her majesty, following her own inclinations and those of her people, resolved to make some changes in the ministry, and take Mr. *Harley* into her councils. This was brought about, as the charge against that minister says, *by the basest insinuations*; upon which, being a determination of parliament, I shall not dispute: although I confess to have received a very different account of that matter from a most excellent lady, upon whose vreacity I entirely depend; and who, being then in chief confidence with her mistress, must needs know a particular fact wherein

she

she was immediately concerned and trusted, better than any one man, or number of men, except the majority of a house of commons.

When the new parliament met, whose elections were left entirely to the people, without the least influence from the court, it plainly appeared how far the church-party in the nation out-numbered the other, and especially in the several countries. But, in the house of lords, even after some management, there was but a weak and crazy majority: nor even could this have been expected, if several great lords, who were always reputed of the other party had not only complied, but been highly instrumental in the change; as the dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Argyle*, the earls of *Peterborough*, *Rivers*, and some others, who certainly came into the queen's measures upon other motives than that of party. Now, since the government of *England* cannot go on while the two houses of parliament are in opposition to each other; and that the people, whenever they acted freely, would infallibly return a majority of church-men: one of these two things was of necessity to be done; either, first, to dissolve that parliament, and call another of the whig-stamp, by force of a prodigious expence, which would be neither decent nor safe, and, perhaps, at that time, hardly feasible: or else, to turn the balance in the house of lords; which, after the success of lord *Nottingham's* vote, was not otherwise to be done, than by creating a sufficient number of peers, in order, at once, to make the queen and her people easy upon that article for the rest of

her

her reign. And this I should be willing to think was the treasurer's meaning, when he advised those advancements; which, however, I confess, I did very much dislike.

But if, after all I have said, my conjecture should happen to be wrong; yet I do not see how the treasurer can justly be blamed, for preserving his cause, his friends, and himself, from unavoidable ruin, by an expedient allowed on all hands to be lawful: perhaps, he was brought under that necessity by the want of proper management; but, when that necessity appeared, he could not act otherwise, without unravelling whatever had been done; which, in the language of those times, would have been called, delivering the queen and kingdom back into the hands of a faction they had so lately got rid of. And, I believe, no minister of any party would, in his circumstances, have scrupled to make the same step, when the *summa rerum* was at stake.

Although the queen was brought into this measure by no other motive than her earnest desire of a peace, yet the treasurer's friends began to press him anew for further changes in employments; concluding, from what was past, that his credit was great enough to compass whatever he pleased. But this proved to be ill reasoning; for the queen had no dislike at all to the other party (whatever personal piques she might bear to some among them) further than as she conceived they were bent upon continuing the war, to which her majesty resolved to put as speedy an end as she could with honour and safety to her

her kingdoms; and therefore fell, with readiness enough, into the methods proposed to her for advancing that great work. But, in dispensing her favours, she was extremely cautious and slow; and after the usual mistake of those who think they have been often imposed on, became so very suspicious, that she overshot the mark, and erred in the other extreme. When a person happened to be recommended as useful for her service, or proper to be obliged, perhaps, after a long delay, she would consent; but, if the treasurer offered, at the same time, a warrant, or other instrument, to her already prepared in order to be signed, because he presumed to reckon upon her consent beforehand, she would not; and thus the affair would sometimes lie for several months together, although the thing were ever so reasonable, or even although the public suffered by the delay. So that this minister had no other remedy but to let her majesty take her own time, which never failed to be the very longest that the nature of the thing could suffer her to defer it.

When this promotion was made, Mr. secretary *St. John*, whose merits and pretensions, as things then stood, were far superior to any, was purposely left out, because the court had need of his great abilities the following session, in the house of commons; and, the peace being then upon the anvil, he was best able to explain and justify the several steps towards it; which he accordingly did with invincible reason and universal applause. When the session was over, the queen thought fit to give him a title;

title; and, that he might not lose his rank, created him viscount. There had been an earldom in his name and family, lately extinct (though a barony fell to a collateral branch in the person of an infant); and the secretary, being of the same house, expected and desired the same degree. For he reasoned, that, making him a viscount, would be but rigorous justice; and he hoped he might pretend to some mark of favour. But the queen could not be prevailed with; because, to say the truth, he was not much, at that time, in her good graces; some women about the court having infused an opinion into her, that he was not so regular in his life as he ought to be. The secretary laid the whole blame of this disappointment upon the earl of *Oxford*, and freely told me, that he would never depend upon the earl's friendship as long as he lived, nor have any further commerce with him, than what was necessary for carrying on the public service. And, although I have good reason to be assured that the treasurer was wholly innocent in this point, as both himself and lady *Masham* then protested to me, yet my lord *Bolingbroke* thought the appearances were so strong, that I was never able to bring him over to my opinion.

The divisions between these two great men began to split the court into parties; *Harcourt*, lord chancellor, the dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Argyle*, sir *William Windham*, and one or two more, adhered to the secretary; the rest were either neuters or inclined to the treasurer, whether from policy

or gratitude, although they all agreed to blame and lament his mysterious and procrastinating manner in acting; which the state of affairs, at that time, could very ill admit, and must have rendered the earl of *Oxford* inexcusable, if the queen's obstinate temper had not put him under the necessity of exerting those talents, wherewith, it must be confessed, his nature was already too well provided.

This minister had stronger passions than the secretary, but kept them under stricter government: my lord *Bolingbroke* was of a nature frank and open; and, as men of great genius are superior to common rules, he seldom gave himself the trouble of disguising or subduing his resentments, although he was ready enough to forget them. In matters of state, as the earl was too reserved, so, perhaps, the other was too free; not from any incontinency of talk, but from the mere contempt of multiplying secrets; although the graver counsellors imputed this liberty of speech to vanity, or lightness. And, upon the whole, no two men could differ more in their diversions, their studies, their ways of transacting business, their choice of company, or manner of conversation.

The queen, who was well informed of these animosities among her servants, of which her own dubious management had been the original cause, began to find, and lament, the ill consequences of them in her affairs, both at home and abroad; and to lay the blame upon her treasurer, whose greatest fault, in his whole ministry, was too much com-

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pliance with his mistress, by which his measures were often disconcerted, and himself brought under suspicion by his friends.

I am very confident, that this alteration in the queen's temper, towards the earl of *Oxford*, could never have appeared, if he had not thought fit to make one step in politics which I have not been able to apprehend. When the queen first thought of making a change among her servants, after Dr. *Sacheverel's* trial, my lady *Masham* was very much heard and trusted upon that point; and it was by her intervention Mr. *Harley* was admitted into her majesty's presence. That lady was then in high favour with her mistress; which, I believe, the earl was not so very sedulous to cultivate or preserve, as if he had it much at heart, nor was altogether sorry when he saw it under some degree of declination. The reasons for this must be drawn from the common nature of mankind, and the incompatibility of power: but the juncture was not favourable for such a refinement, because it was early known to all, who had but looked into the court, that this lady must have a successor, who, upon pique and principle, would do all in her power to obstruct his proceedings. My lady *Masham* was a person of a plain sound understanding, of great truth and sincerity, without the least mixture of falsehood or disguise; of an honest boldness and courage, superior to her sex; firm and disinterested in her friendship, and full of love, duty, and veneration for the queen, her mistress: talents as sel-

dom found or ſought for in a court, as unlikely to thrive while they are there; ſo that nothing could then be more unfortunate to the public than a coldneſs between this lady and the firſt miniſter; nor a greater miſtake in the latter, than to ſuffer, or connive at, the leſſening of her credit, which he quickly ſaw removed very diſadvantageouſly to another object [*m*], and wanted the effects of, when his own was ſunk in the only domeſtic affair for which I ever knew him under any concern.

While the queen's favour to the earl was thus gradually leſſening, the breaches between him and his friends grew every day wider, which he looked upon with great indifference, and ſeemed to have his thoughts only turned upon finding out ſome proper opportunity for delivering up his ſtaff: but this her majeſty would not then admit; becauſe, indeed, it was not eaſy to determine who ſhould ſucceed him.

In the midſt of theſe diſpoſitions at court, the queen fell dangerouſly ſick at *Windſor*, about *Chriſtmas* 1713. It was confidently reported in town, that ſhe was dead; and the heads of the expecting party were ſaid to have various meetings thereupon, and a great hurrying of chairs and coaches to and from the earl of *Wharton's* houſe: Whether this were true or not, yet thus much is certain, that the expreſſions of joy appeared very frequent and loud among many of that party; which proceeding men

[*m*] The Ducheſs of *Somerſet*.

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of form did not allow to be altogether decent. A meſſenger was immediately diſpatched, with an account of the queen's illneſs, to the treaſurer, who was then in town; and, in order to ſtop the report of her death, appeared next day abroad in his chariot, with a pair of horſes, and did not go down to *Windſor* till his uſual time. Upon his arrival there the danger was over, but not the fright, which ſtill ſat on every body's face, and the account given of the confuſion and diſtraction the whole court had been under is hardly to be conceived: upon which, the treaſurer ſaid to me, Whenever any thing ails the "queen, theſe people are out of their wits; and "yet, they are ſo thoughtleſs, that, as ſoon as "ſhe is well, they act as if ſhe were immortal." I had ſufficient reaſon, both before and ſince, to allow his obſervation to be true, and that ſome ſhare of it might, with juſtice, be applied to himſelf.

The queen had early notice of this behaviour among the diſcontented leaders, during her illneſs. It was, indeed, an affair of ſuch a nature, as required no aggravation; which, however, would not have been wanting, the women of both parties, who then attended her majeſty, being well diſpoſed to repreſent it in the ſtrongeſt light. The reſult was, that the queen immediately laid aſide all her ſchemes and viſions of reconciling the two oppoſite intereſts, and entered upon a firm reſolution of adhering to the old *Engliſh* principles, from an opinion that the adverſe party waited impatiently for her death, upon views little conſiſting (as the language

and opinion went then) with the ſafety of the conſtitution, either in church or ſtate. She, therefore, determined to fall into all juſt and proper methods, that her miniſters ſhould adviſe her to, for the preſervation and continuance of both. This I was quickly aſſured of, not only by the lord chancellor and lord *Bolingbroke*, but by the treaſurer himſelf.

I confeſs myſelf to have been then thoroughly perſuaded that this incident would perfectly reconcile the miniſters, by uniting them in purſuing one general intereſt; and, conſidering no farther than what was fitteſt to be done, I could eaſily foreſee any objections, or difficulties, that the earl of *Oxford* would make; I had, for ſome time, endeavoured to cultivate the ſtricteſt friendſhip between him and the general [*n*], by telling both of them (which happened to be the truth) how kindly they ſpoke of each other; and by convincing the latter of what advantage ſuch an union muſt be to her majeſty's ſervice. There was an affair upon which all our friends laid a more than ordinary weight. Among the horſe and foot guards appointed to attend on the queen's perſon, ſeveral officers took every occaſion, with great freedom and bitterneſs of ſpeech, to revile the miniſtry, upon the ſubject of the peace and the pretender, not without many groſs expreſſions againſt the queen herſelf; ſuch as, I ſuppoſe, will hardly be thought on or attempted, but certainly not ſuffered, under the preſent powers. Which pro-

[*n*] The duke of *Ormond*.

ceeding,

ceeding, besides the indignity, begot an opinion, that her majesty's person might be better guarded than by such keepers, who, after attending at court or at the levee of the general or first minister, adjourned, to publish their disaffection in coffee-houses and gaming-ordinaries, without any regard to decency or truth. It was proposed, that ten or a dozen of the least discreet among these gentlemen should be obliged to sell their posts in the guards; and that two or three, who had gone the greatest lengths, should have a price fixed for their commissions, somewhat below the exorbitant rate usually demanded for a few years past. The duke of *Ormond* desired but ten thousand pounds to make the matter easy to those officers who were to succeed; which sum, his grace told me, the treasurer had given him encouragement to expect, although he pleaded present want of money: and I cannot but say, that, having often, at the duke's desire, pressed this minister to advance the money, he gave me such answers, as made me think he really intended it: but I was quickly undeceived; for, expostulating some days after with him upon the same subject, after great expressions of esteem and friendship for the duke of *Ormond*, and mentioning some ill-treatment he had received from his friends, he said, he knew not why he should do other people's work. The truth is, that, except the duke, my lord *Trevor* and Mr. secretary *Bromley*, I could not find he had one friend left, of any consequence, in her majesty's service. The lord chancellor, lord *Bolingbroke*, and lady

lady *Maſham*, openly declared againſt him; to whom were joined the biſhop of [*o*] *Rocheſter* and ſome others. *Dartmouth*, then privy-ſeal, and *Paulet*, lord ſteward, ſtood neuters. The duke of *Shrewſbury* hated the treaſurer, but ſacrificed all reſentments to eaſe, profit, and power; and was then in *Ireland* acting a part directly oppoſite to the court, which he had ſagacity enough to foreſee might quickly turn to account; ſo that the earl of *Oxford* ſtood almoſt ſingle, and every day found a viſible declenſion of the queen's favour towards him; which he took but little care to redreſs, deſiring nothing ſo much as leave to deliver up his ſtaff: which, however, as conjunctures then ſtood, he was not able to obtain; his adverſaries not having determined where to place it: neither was it, upon ſeveral accounts, a work ſo proper to be done, while the parliament ſate, where the miniſtry had already loſt too much reputation, and eſpecially in the houſe of lords. By what I could gather from ſeveral diſcourſes with the treaſurer, it was not very difficult to find out how he reaſoned with himſelf. The church-party continued violently bent to have ſome neceſſary removals made in the guards, as well as a further change in the civil employments through the kingdom. All the great officers about the court, or in her majeſty's ſervice, except the duke of *Shrewſbury* and one or two more, were in the ſame opinion; the queen herſelf, ſince her laſt illneſs at *Windſor*, had the like

[*o*] Dr. *Atterbury*.

diſpo-

dispositions; and, I think, it may appear, from several passages already mentioned, that the blame of those delays, so often complained of, did not originally lie at the earl of *Oxford's* door. But the state of things was very much changed by several incidents: the chancellor, lord *Bolingbroke*, and lady *Masham*, had entirely forsaken him, upon suspicions I have mentioned before; which, although they were founded on mistake, yet he would never be at the pains to clear; and, as he first lessened his confidence with the queen, by pressing her upon those very points, for which his friends accused him that they were not performed; so, upon her change of sentiments, after her recovery, he lost all favour and credit with her, for not seconding those new resolutions from which she had formerly been so averse. Besides, he knew, as well as all others who were near the court, that it was hardly possible the queen could survive many months; in which case, he must of necessity bring upon him the odium and vengeance of the successor, and of that party which must then be predominant, who would quickly unravel all he had done; or, if her majesty should hold out longer than it was reasonable to expect, yet, after having done a work that must procure him many new enemies, he could expect nothing but to be discharged in displeasure. Upon these reasons, he continued his excuses to the duke of *Ormond*, for not advancing the money; and, during the six last months of his ministry, would enter into no affairs but what immediately concerned the business of his office. That whole

whole period was nothing else but a scene of murmuring and discontent, quarrel and misunderstanding, animosity and hatred, between him and his former friends. In the mean time, the queen's countenance was wholly changed towards him; she complained of his silence and sullenness; and, in return, gave him every day fresh instances of neglect or displeasure.

The original of this quarrel among the ministers, which had been attended with so many ill consequences, began first between the treasurer and lord *Bolingbroke*, from the causes and incidents I have already mentioned; and might, very probably, have been prevented, if the treasurer had dealt with less reserve, or the lord *Bolingbroke* had put that confidence in him which so sincere a friend might reasonably have expected. Neither, perhaps, would a reconcilement have been an affair of much difficulty, if their friends on both sides had not too much observed the common prudential forms of *not caring to intermeddle*; which, together with the addition of a shrug, was the constant answer I received from most of them, whenever I pressed them upon the subject. I cannot tell whether my lord *Trevor* may be excepted, because I had little acquaintance with him, although I am inclined to the negative. Mr. *Prior*, who was much loved and esteemed by them both, as he well deserved, upon the account of every virtue that can qualify a man for private conversation, might have been the properest person for such a work, if he could have thought it to consist

with the prudence of a courtier; but, however, he was absent in *France* at those junctures when it was chiefly necessary. And, to say the truth, most persons had so avowedly declared themselves on one side or the other, that these two great men had hardly a common friend left except myself. I had ever been treated with great kindness by them both; and I conceived, that what I wanted in weight and credit might be made up with sincerity and freedom. The former they never doubted, and the latter they had constant experience of: I had managed between them for almost two years; and their candour was so great, that they had not the least jealousy or suspicion of me. And I thought I had done wonders, when, upon the queen's being last at *Windsor*, I put them in a coach to go thither by appointment without other company; where they would have four hours time to come to a good understanding; but, in two days after, I learned from them both, that nothing was done.

There had been three bishopricks for some time vacant in *Ireland*; and I had prevailed on the earl of *Oxford*, that one of them should be divided. Accordingly four divines of that kingdom were named to the queen, and approved by her; but, upon some difficulties not worth mentioning, the queen's mandatory letters to *Ireland* had been delayed: I pressed the treasurer every week while her majesty was at *Windsor*, and every day after her return to finish this affair, as a point of great consequence to the church in that kingdom; and, grow-

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ing at length impatient of fo many excufes, I fell into fome paffion, when his lordfhip freely told me, that he had been earneft with the queen, upon *that* matter, about ten times the laft fortnight; but without effect; and that he found his credit wholly at an end. This happened about eleven weeks before the queen died: and, two nights after, fitting with him and lord *Bolingbroke*, in lady *Mafham's* lodgings at *St. James's*, for fome hours, I told the treafurer, that, having defpaired of any reconciliation between them, I had only ftaid fome time longer to forward the difpofal of thofe bifhopricks in *Ireland*; which fince his lordfhip told me was out of his power, I now refolved to retire immediately, as from an evil I could neither help to redrefs, nor endure the fight of: That, before I left them, I defired they would anfwer me two queftions: firft, whether thefe mifchiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and, fecondly, whether, upon the prefent foot, the miniftry would not be infallibly ruined in two months? Lord *Bolingbroke* anfwered to each queftion in the affirmative, and approved of my refolution to retire; but the treafurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only defired me to dine with him next day. However, I immediately went down to a friend in *Berkfhire*, to await the iffue, which ended in the removal of my lord treafurer, and, three days after, in her majefty's death.

Thus I have, with fome pains, recollected feveral paffages, which I thought were moft material, for

for the satisfaction of those who appear so much at a loss upon the unaccountable quarrels of the late ministry. For, indeed, it looked like a riddle, to see persons of great and undisputed abilities called by the queen to her service, in the place of others with whose proceedings she was disgusted, and with great satisfaction to the clergy, the landed interest, and body of the people, running, on a sudden, into such a common beaten court-track of ruin, by divisions among themselves; not only without a visible cause, but with the strongest appearances to the contrary, and without any refuge to the usual excuse of evil instruments, or cunning adversaries, to blow the coals of dissension; for the work was entirely their own.

I impute the cause of these misfortunes to the queen, who, from the variety of hands she had employed, and reasonings she had heard, since her coming to the crown, was grown very fond of moderating schemes, which, as things then stood, were by no means reducible to practice; she had likewise a good share of that adherence to her own opinions, which is usually charged upon her sex. And, lastly (as I have before observed), having received some hints that she had formerly been too much governed, she grew very difficult to be advised.

The next in fault, was the treasurer, who, not being able to influence the queen in many points, with relation to party, which his friends and the kingdom seemed to have much at heart, would needs take all the blame on himself, from a known

principle

principle of ſtate-prudence, that a firſt miniſter muſt always preſerve the reputation of power: but I have ever thought, that there are few maxims in politics, which, at ſome conjunctures, may not be very liable to an exception. The queen was by no means inclined to make many changes in employments; ſhe was poſitive in her nature, and extremely given to delay. And ſurely theſe were no proper qualities for a chief miniſter to perſonate towards his neareſt friends, who were brought into employment upon very different views and promiſes. Nor could any reputation of power be worth preſerving at the expence of bringing ſincerity into queſtion. I remember, upon a *Saturday*, when the miniſters and one or two friends of the treaſurer conſtantly met to dine at his houſe, one of the company attacked him very warmly, on account that a certain lord, who perpetually oppoſed the queen's meaſures, was not diſmiſſed from a great employment, which, beſides other advantages, gave that lord the power of chuſing ſeveral members of parliament. The treaſurer evaded the matter with his uſual anſwer, that this was whipping-day: upon which the ſecretary *Bolingbroke*, turning to me, ſaid, It was a ſtrange thing that my lord *Oxford* would not be ſo kind to his friends, and ſo juſt to his own innocence, as to vindicate himſelf where he had no blame; for, to his knowledge and the chancellor's (who was then alſo preſent), the treaſurer had frequently and earneſtly moved the queen upon that very point, without effect:

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thereupon this minister, finding himself pressed so far, told the company, that he had at last prevailed with her majesty, and the thing would be done in two days, which followed accordingly. I mention this fact as an instance of the earl of *Oxford's* disposition to preserve some reputation of power in himself, and remove all blame from the queen; and this, to my particular knowledge, was a frequent case; but how far justifiable in point of prudence, I have already given my opinion. However, the treasurer's friends were yet much more to blame than himself: he had abundance of merit with them all, not only upon account of the publick, the whole change of the ministry having been effected, without any intervention of theirs, by him and lady *Masham*; but, likewise, from the consequence of that change, whereby the greatest employments of the kingdom were divided among them; and therefore, in common justice as well as prudence, they ought to have been more indulgent to his real failings, rather than suspect him of imaginary ones, as they often did, through ignorance, refinement, or mistake: and I mention it to the honour of the secretary *Bolingbroke*, as well as of the treasurer, that, having myself, upon many occasions, joined with the former in quarrelling with the earl's conduct upon certain points, the secretary would, in a little time after, frankly own that he was altogether mistaken.

Lastly, I cannot excuse the remissness of those, whose business it should have been, as it certainly was

was their interest, to have interposed their goo[illegible] offices for healing this unhappy breach among the ministers: but of this I have already spoken.

CHAPTER II.

Written about a YEAR after.

HAVING proceeded thus far, I thought it would be unnecessary to say any thing upon the other head, relating to the design of bringing in the pretender: for, upon the earl of *Oxford's* impeachment, the gentlemen of the prevailing side assured me, that the whole mystery would be soon laid open to the world, and were ready to place the merit of their cause upon that issue: this discovery we all expected from the Report of the Secret Committee: but, when that treatise appeared (whoever were the compilers), we found it to be rather the work of a luxuriant fancy, an absolute state-pamphlet arguing for a cause, than a dry recital of facts or a transcript of letters; and, for what related to the pretender, the authors contented themselves with informing the publick, that the whole intrigue was privately carried on in personal treaties between the earl of *Oxford* and the abbé *Gualtier*, which must needs be a doctrine hard of digestion to those who have the least knowledge either of the earl or the abbé, or upon what foot the latter stood at that time with the *English* ministry:

I conceive that whoever is at distance enough to be out of fear either of a vote or a messenger, will be as easily brought to believe all the popish legends together. And to make such an assertion, in a public report delivered to the house of commons, without the least attempt to prove it, will some time or other be reckoned such a strain upon truth and probability as is hard to be equalled in a *Spanish* romance. I think, it will be allowed, that the articles of high treason drawn up against the earl were not altogether founded upon the report, or at least that those important hints about bringing in the pretender were more proper materials to furnish out a pamphlet than an impeachment; since this accusation hath no part even among the high crimes and misdemeanors.

But, notwithstanding all this, and that the earl of *Oxford*, after two years residence in the *Tower*, was at length dismissed without any trial; yet the reproach still went on, that the queen's last ministry, in concert with their mistress, were deeply engaged in a design to set the pretender upon the throne. The cultivating of which accusation I impute to the great goodness of those in power, who are so gracious to assign a reason, or at least give a countenance for that sudden and universal sweep they thought fit to make on their first appearance: whereas they might as well have spared that ceremony, by a short recourse to the royal prerogative, which gives every prince a liberty of chusing what servants he will.

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There are two points which I believe able to make out. First, that neither the queen nor her ministers did ever entertain a design of bringing in the pretender during her majesty's life, or that he should succeed after her decease.

Secondly, that, if they conceived such a design, it was absolutely necessary to prosecute it from the first year of their ministry; because, for at least a year before the queen's death, it was impossible to have put such a design in execution.

I must premise with three circumstances, which have a great effect on me, and must have the like upon those among my friends who have any tolerable opinion of my veracity, and it is only to those that I offer them.

I remember, during the late treaty of peace, discoursing at several times with some very eminent persons of the opposite side, with whom I had long acquaintance, I asked them seriously, whether they or any of their friends did in earnest believe, or suspect, the queen or the ministry to have any favourable regards towards the pretender? They all confessed, for themselves, that they believed nothing of the matter; and particularly a person, at present in great employment, said to me, with much frankness, "You set up the Church and "*Sacheverel* against us, and we set up Trade and "the Pretender against you."

The second point I would observe is this, that, during the course of the late ministry, upon occasion of the libels every day thrown about, I had

the curiosity to ask almost every person in great employment, whether they knew, or had heard, of any one particular man (except those who professed to be nonjurors) that discovered the least inclination towards the pretender; and the whole number they could muster up did not amount to above five or six, among which one was a certain old lord lately dead, and one a private gentleman, of little consequence, and of a broken fortune: yet I do not believe myself to have omitted any one great man that came in my way, except the duke of *Buckingham*, in whose company I never was above one or twice at most: I am, therefore, as confident as a man can be of any truth which will not admit a demonstration, that, upon the queen's death, if we except papists and nonjurors, there could not be five hundred persons in *England*, of all ranks, who had any thoughts of the pretender, and among these, not six of any quality or consequence: but how it hath come to pass that several millions are said to have since changed their sentiments, it shall not be my part to enquire.

The last point is of the same strain, and I offer it, like the two former, to convince only those who are willing to believe me on my own word; that, having been, for the space of almost four years, very nearly and perpetually conversant with those who had the greatest share of power, and this in their times of leisure as well as business, I could never hear one single word to be let fall in favour of the pretender, although I was curious enough

to obſerve, in a particular manner, what p[illegible]d upon that ſubject. And I c[illegible]nnot but think, that, if ſuch an affair had been in agitation, I muſt have had either very bad luck, or a very ſmall ſhare of common underſtanding, not to have diſcovered ſome grounds, at leaſt, for ſuſpicion: becauſe I never yet knew a miniſter of ſtate, or indeed any other man, ſo great a maſter of ſecrecy, as to be able, among thoſe he nearly converſed with, wholly to conceal his opinions, however he may cover his deſigns. This I ſay, upon a ſuppoſition that they would have held on the maſk always before me, which, however, I have no reaſon to believe. And, I confeſs, it is with the expence of ſome patience that I hear this matter ſummarily determined by thoſe who had no advantages of knowing any thing that paſſed, otherwiſe than what they found in a libel or a coffee-houſe; or, at beſt, from general reaſonings built upon miſtaken facts. Now, although what I have hitherto ſaid upon this point can have no influence further than my own perſonal credit reacheth, yet, I confeſs, I ſhall never be brought to change my opinion, till ſome one, who had more opportunities than I, will be able to produce any ſingle particular from the letters, the diſcourſes, or the actions of thoſe miniſters, as a proof of what they allege, which hath not yet been attempted or pretended.

But, I believe, there may be ſeveral arguments of another nature produced, which can make it very evident, to thoſe who will hear reaſon, that the

the queen's ministers never had it in their thoughts to alter the succession of the crown.

For, first, when her majesty had determined to change her servants, it is very well known that those, whom she appointed to succeed them, were generally accounted favourers of what is called the low-church party; not only my lords *Oxford*, *Bolingbroke*, and *Harcourt*, but a great majority of the rest: among which I can immediately name the dukes of *Shrewsbury*, *Newcastle*, and *Argyle*; the earls of *Peterborough*, *Rivers*, *Strafford*, *Hay*, and *Orrery*; the lords *Mansel* and *Masham*, with several others whom I cannot at present recollect. Whereas, of the other party, the dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, and the earl of *Dartmouth*, were the only persons introduced at first, and very few afterwards: which, I suppose, will clearly evince, that the bringing in of the pretender was not the original scheme of such ministers, and that they were by no means proper instruments for such a work.

And whoever knew any thing of the queen's disposition must believe she had no inclinations at all in favour of the pretender: she was highly and publicly displeased with my lord *Bolingbroke*, because he was seen under the same roof with that person at an opera, when his lordship was sent to *France* upon some difficulties about the peace: her majesty said, that he ought immediately to have withdrawn, upon the appearance of the other; wherein,

wherein, to ſpeak with freedom, I think her judgment was a little miſtaken. And, at her toilet, among her women, when mention happened to be made of the chevalier, ſhe would frequently let fall expreſſions of ſuch a nature, as made it manifeſt how little ſhe deſerved thoſe reproaches which have been caſt on her ſince her death, upon that account.

Beſides, I have already ſaid, that her majeſty began thoſe changes at court for no other cauſe than her perſonal diſpleaſure againſt a certain family, and their allies; and from the hope ſhe had to obtain a peace, by the removal of ſome whoſe intereſt it was to obſtruct it: That, when the former chancellor, preſident, and others came to her, determined to deliver up their employments, ſhe preſſed them ſomewhat more than it became her dignity, to continue in their ſtations; of which, I ſuppoſe, my lord *Cowper* is yet a living witneſs.

I am forced to repeat, what I have before obſerved, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty ſhe could be ever perſuaded to diſmiſs any perſon upon the ſcore of party; and that ſhe drove her miniſters into the greateſt diſtreſs, upon my lord *Nottingham's* vote againſt any peace without *Spain*, for want of ſpeaking to one or two depending lords, although with the laſt danger of breaking the meaſures ſhe was moſt fond of towards ſettling the repoſe of *Europe*. She had, beſides, upon the removal of the ducheſs of *Marlborough*, choſen another

ther great lady [*p*] to succeed, who quickly grew into higher credit than all her ministers together: a lady openly professing the utmost aversion from the persons, the principles, and measures of those who were then in power, and excelling all, even of her own sex, in every art of insinuation: and this her majesty thought fit to do, in opposition to the strongest representations that could possibly be made to her, of the inconveniences which would ensue. Her only objection against several clergymen, recommended to her for promotions in the church, was their being too violent in party. And a lady, in high favour with her, hath frequently assured me, that, whenever she moved the queen to discard some persons, who, upon all occasions, with great virulence, opposed the court, her majesty would constantly refuse, and, at the same time, condemn her for too much party-zeal.

But, beside all this, there never was a more stale or antiquated cause than that of the pretender, at the time when her majesty chose her last ministers, who were most of them children or youths when king *James* II. abdicated: they found a prince upon the throne, before they were of years to trouble themselves with speculations upon government; and, consequently, could have no scruples of conscience in submitting to the present powers, since they hardly remembered any other. And, truly, this was in general the case of the whole

[*p*] Duchess of *Somerset*.

kingdom: for the adherents of king *James* II. were all either dead or in exile, or funk in obfcurity, laden with years and want; fo that, if any guilt were contracted by the Revolution, it was generally underftood that our anceftors were only to anfwer for it. And I am confident, with an exception to profeffed nonjurors, there was not one man in ten thoufand, through *England*, who had other fentiments. Nor can the contrary opinion be defended, by arguing the prodigious difaffection at prefent, becaufe the fame thing hath happened before from the fame caufes, in our own country, and within the memory of man, although not with the fame event.

But fuch a difaffection could hardly have been raifed againft an abfent prince, who was only in expectation of the throne; and, indeed, I cannot but reckon it as a very ftrong argument for the good difpofition, both in the miniftry and kingdom, towards the houfe of *Hanover*, that, during my lord *Oxford's* adminiftration, there was never thrown out the leaft reflexion againft that illuftrious houfe, in any libel or pamphlet; which would hardly have happened, if the fmall party-writers could have thought, that, by fuch a performance, they would have made their court to thofe in power; and which would certainly have been a very ufeful preliminary, if any attempt had been intended towards altering the fucceffion to the crown. But, however, to fay the truth, invectives againft the abfent, and with whom we have

nothing

nothing to do, although they may render persons little and contemptible, can hardly make them odious: for hatred is produced by motives of a very different nature, as experience hath shewn. And, although politicians affirm it more eligible for a prince to be hated than despised, yet that maxim is better calculated for an absolute monarchy than for the climate of *England.* But I am sensible this is a digression; therefore I return.

The treaties made by her majesty with *France* and *Spain* were calculated, in several points, directly against the pretender, as he hath now found to his cost, and as it is manifest to all the world. Neither could any thing be more superficial than the politicks of those who could be brought to think that the regent of *France* would ever engage in measures against the present king of *England*; and how the grimace of an ambassador's taking or not taking his public character, as in the case of the earl of *Stairs*, should serve so long for an amusement, cannot sufficiently be wondered at. What can be plainer than that the chief interest of the duke of *Orleans* is woven and twisted with that of king *George*; and this, whether it shall be thought convenient to suffer the young king of *France* to live longer, or not? For, in the second case, the regent perfectly agrees with our present king in this particular circumstance, that the whole order of succession hath been broken for his sake; by which means he likewise will be encumbered with a pretender, and thereby engaged, upon the strongest

ſtrongeſt motives, to prevent the union of *France* and *Spain* under one monarch. And, even in the other caſe, the chance of a boy's life, and his leaving heirs-male of his body, is ſo dubious, that the hopes of a crown to the regent, or his children, will certainly keep that prince, as long as his power continues, very firm in his alliance with *England*.

And, as this deſign was originally intended and avowed by the queen's miniſters, in their treaties with *France* and *Spain*, ſo the events have fully anſwered in every particular. The preſent king ſucceeded to theſe crowns with as hearty and univerſal a diſpoſition of the people, as could poſſibly conſiſt with the grief for the loſs of ſo gracious and excellent a princeſs as her late majeſty. The parliament was moſt unanimous in doing every thing that could endear them to a new monarch. The general peace did entirely put an end to any deſign which *France* or *Spain* might probably have laid to make a diverſion by an invaſion upon *Scotland*, with the pretender at the head, in caſe her majeſty had happened to die during the courſe of the war: and, upon the death of the late *French* king, the duke of *Orleans* fell immediately into the ſtricteſt meaſures with *England*; as the queen and her miniſters eaſily foreſaw it would be neceſſary for him to do, from every reaſon that could regard his own intereſt. If the queen had died but a ſhort time before the peace, and either of the two great powers engaged againſt us had thought fit to have thrown ſome troops into *Scotland*, although it could not have been

a very agreeable circumstance to a successor and a stranger, yet the universal inclinations at that time in *England* towards the house of *Hanover* would, in all probability, have prevented the consequences of such an enterprize. But, on the other side, if the war had continued a year longer than her majesty's life, and the same causes had been applied to produce the same effects upon the affections of the people, the issue must inevitably have been either a long and bloody civil war, or a sudden revolution. So that no incident could have arrived more effectual, to fortify the present king's title, and secure his possession, than that very peace so much exploded by one party, and so justly celebrated by the other; in continuing to declare which opinions, under the present situation of things, it is not very improbable that they may both be in jest.

But, if any articles of that peace were like to endanger the protestant succession, how could it come to pass that the *Dutch*, who were guarantees of *that* succession, and valued for zealous defenders of it, should be so ready with their offers to comply with every article, and this for no greater a reward than a share in the *Assiento* trade, which the opposers of peace represented to be only a trifle? That the fact is true I appeal to monsieur *de Buys*, who, upon some difficulties the ministry were under by the earl of *Nottingham's* vote against any peace while *Spain* continued in the *Bourbon* family, undertook to make that matter easy, by getting a full approbation from the *States*, his masters, of all her majesty's proceed-

ings,

ings, provided they might be ſharers in that trade. I can add this further, that, ſome months after the concluſion of the peace, and amidſt all the appearing diſcontents of the *Dutch*, a gentleman, who had long reſided in *Holland*, and was occaſionally employed by the miniſters here, aſſured me that he had power from the penſioner to treat with the earl of *Oxford*, about ſending hither an extraordinary embaſſy from *Holland*, to declare that the *States* were fully ſatisfied with the whole plan, of the peace, upon certain conditions, which were eaſy and honourable, and ſuch as had no relation at all to the pretender. How this happened to fail, I never enquired, nor had any diſcourſe about it with thoſe in power. For then their affairs were growing deſperate, by the earl of *Oxford's* declination in the queen's favour; both which be came ſo public, as well as her majeſty's bad ſtate of health, that, I ſuppoſe, thoſe circumſtances might eaſily cool the *Dutch* politicians in that purſuit.

I remember to have heard it objected againſt the late miniſtry, as an inſtance of their inclination towards the pretender, that they were careleſs in cultivating a good correſpondence with the houſe of *Hanover*. And, on the other ſide, I know very well what continual pains were employed to ſatisfy and inform the elector and his miniſters in every ſtep taken by her majeſty, and what offers were made to his highneſs for any further ſecurities of the ſucceſſion in him and his family, that could conſiſt with the honour and ſafety of the queen. To this pur-

post were all the instructions given to earl *Rivers*, Mr. *Thomas Harley*, lord *Clarendon*, and some others. But all endeavours were rendered abortive by a foolish circumstance, which hath often made me remember the common observation, of the greatest events depending frequently upon the lowest, vilest, and obscurest causes; and this is never more verified than in courts, and the issues of public affairs, whereof I could produce, from my own knowledge and observation, three or four very surprizing instances. I have seen an old [q] bedmaker, by officiously going to one door when gratitude as well as common sense should have sent her to another, become the instrument of putting the nation to the expence of some thousand lives, and several millions of money. I have known as great an event from the stupidity, or wilfulness, of a beggarly *Dutchman* [r], who lingered on purpose half an hour at a visit, when he had promised to be somewhere else. Of no greater dignity was that circumstance, which rendered ineffectual all endeavours of the late ministry to establish themselves in the good graces of the court of *Hanover*, as I shall particularly relate in another work. It may suffice to hint at present, that a delay in conveying a very inconsiderable sum to a very inconsiderable *French* [s] vagrant, gave the opportu-

[q] Mrs. *Foisson*, necessary-woman to the queen, preferred to that employment by my lady *Masham*.

[r] *Carew* lord *Hunsden*, born and bred in *Holland*.

[s] *Robithan*, then at *Hanover*, cut in the service of some other *German* prince, it is not known how, got into some credit with the elector.

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nity to a more induſtrious party, of corrupting that channel through which all the ideas of the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the queen, the miniſters, and the whole *Britiſh* nation, were conveyed.

The ſecond point which I conceive myſelf able to make out, is this: that, if the queen's miniſters had, with or without the knowledge of their miſtreſs, entertained any thoughts of altering the ſucceſſion in favour of the pretender, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to have begun, and proſecuted that deſign, as ſoon as they came into her majeſty's ſervice.

There were two circumſtances which would have made it neceſſary for them to have loſt no time. Firſt, becauſe it was a work that could not poſſibly be done on a ſudden. For the whole nation, almoſt to a man, excepting profeſſed nonjurors, had conceived the utmoſt abhorrence of a popiſh ſucceſſor. And, as I have already obſerved, the ſcruple of conſcience, upon the point of loyalty, was wholly confined to a few antiquated nonjurors, who lay ſtarving in obſcurity. So that, in order to have brought ſuch an affair about in a parliamentary way, ſome years muſt have been employed to turn the bent of the nation, to have rendered one perſon odious and another amiable; neither of which is to be ſoon compaſſed towards abſent princes, unleſs by comparing them with thoſe of whom we have had experience, which was not *then* the caſe.

The other circumſtance was, the bad condition of the queen's health; her majeſty growing every day

day more unweildy, and the gout, with other disorders, increasing on her; so that whoever was near the court, for about the two last years of her reign, might boldly have fixed the period of her life to a very few months, without pretending to prophesy. And how little a time the ministers had for so great a work as that of changing the succession of the crown, and how difficult the very attempt would have been, may be judged from the umbrage taken by several lords of the church-party, in the last year of her reign, who appeared under an apprehension that the very quarrels among the ministers might possibly be of some disadvantage to the house of *Hanover*. And the universal declaration, both among lords and commons, at that time, as well in favour of the elector as against the pretender, are an argument, beyond all conviction, that some years must have been spent in altering the dispositions of the people. Upon this occasion, I shall not soon forget what a great minister then said to me, and which I have been since assured was likewise the duke of *Shrewsbury's* opinion, That there could be no doubt of the elector's undisturbed succession; but the chief difficulty lay in the future disaffection of the church, and people, and landed interest, from that universal change of men and measures, which he foresaw would arrive. And it must be, to all impartial men, above a thousand witnesses, how innocent her majesty's servants were upon this article; that, knowing so well through what channels all favour was to pass upon the queen's demise, they,

by their coming into power, had utterly, and for ever, broken all meaſures with the oppoſite party; and that, in the beginning of their adminiſtration, there wanted not, perhaps, certain favourable junctures, which ſome future circumſtances would not have failed to cultivate; yet their actions ſhewed them ſo far from any view towards the pretender, that they neglected purſuing thoſe meaſures which they had conſtantly in their power, not only of ſecuring themſelves, but the intereſt of the church, without any violence to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the perſon of the elector. And this unhappy neglect I take to have been the only diſgrace of their miniſtry. To prevent this evil was, I confeſs, the chief point wherein all my little politicks terminated; and the methods were eaſy and obvious. But whoever goes about to gain favour with a prince by a readineſs to enlarge his prerogative, although out of principle and opinion, ought to provide that he be not outbid by another party, however profeſſing a contrary principle. For I never yet read or heard of any party acting in oppoſition to the true intereſt of their country, whatever republican denominations they affected to be diſtinguiſhed by, who would not be contented to chaffer public liberty for perſonal power, or for an opportunity of gratifying their revenge. Of which truth *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as many other ſtates, will furniſh plenty of examples. This reflexion I could not well forbear, although it may be of little uſe further than to diſcover my own reſentment. And yet, perhaps, that misfortune

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ought rather to be imputed to the want of concert and confidence, than of prudence or courage.

I must here take notice of an accusation charged upon the late ministry, by the house of commons, that they put a lie, or falsehood, into the queen's mouth, to be delivered to her parliament. Mr. *Thomas Harley* was sent to the elector of *Hanover* with instructions, to offer his highness any further securities, for settling the succession in him and his family, that could consist with her majesty's honour and safety. This gentleman writ a letter to the secretary of state, a little before his return from *Hanover*, signifying, in direct terms, that the elector expressed himself satisfied in the queen's proceedings, and desired to live in confidence with her. He writ to the same purpose to one of the under-secretaries, and mentioned the fact as a thing that much pleased him, and what he desired might be as public as possible. Both these letters I have read; and the queen, as she had reason to suppose, being sufficiently authorized by this notice from her minister, made mention of that information in a speech from the throne. If the fact were a lie, it is what I have not heard Mr. *Harley* to have been charged with. From what hath since passed in the world, I should indeed be inclined to grant it might have been a compliment in his highness, and perhaps understood to be so by the queen; but, without question, her majesty had a fair excuse to take the elector according to the literal meaning of his words. And, if this be so, the imputation of falsehood must remain,

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where these accusers of that excellent princess's veracity will, I suppose, not profess (at least) an inclination to place it.

I am very willing to mention the point, wherein, as I said, all my little politicks terminated, and wherein I may pretend to know that the ministers were of the same opinion; and would have put it in practice, if it had pleased God to let them continue to act with any kind of unanimity.

I have already observed how well it was known at court what measures the elector intended to follow, whenever his succession should take place: and what hands he would employ in the administration of his affairs. I have likewise mentioned some facts and reasons, which influenced and fixed his highness in that determination, notwithstanding all possible endeavours to divert him from it. Now if we consider the dispositions of *England*, at that time, when almost the whole body of the clergy, a vast majority of the landed interest, and of the people in general, were of the church-party; it must be granted that one or two acts, which might have passed in ten days, would have put it utterly out of the power of the successor to have procured a house of commons of a different stamp, and this with very little diminution to the prerogative; which acts might have been only temporary. For the usual arts to gain parliaments can hardly be applied with success after the election, against a majority, at least, of three in four; because the trouble and expence would be too great, beside the loss of reputation. For, neither could

could such a number of members find their account in point of profit, nor would the crown be at so much charge and hazard merely for the sake of governing by a small party, against the bent and genius of the nation. And, as to all attempts of influencing electors, they would have been sufficiently provided for by the scheme intended. I suppose it need not be added, that the government of *England* cannot move a step while the house of commons continues to dislike proceedings, or persons employed, at least in an age where parliaments are grown so frequent, and are made so necessary: whereas a minister is but the creature of a day; and a house of lords hath been modelled in many reigns, by enlarging the number, as well as by other obvious expedients.

The judicious reader will soon comprehend how easily the legislature, at this time, could have provided against the power and influence of a court, or ministry, in future elections, without the least injury to the succession, and even without the modern invention of perpetuating themselves; which, however, I must needs grant to be one of the most effectual, vigorous, and resolute proceedings that I have yet met with in reading or information. For the long parliament under king *Charles* I. although it should be allowed of good authority, will hardly amount to an example.

I must again urge and repeat, that those who charge the earl of *Oxford*, and the rest of that ministry, with a design of altering the succession of the

the crown in favour of the pretender, w[illegible], perhaps, be at ſome difficulty to fix the time when that deſign was in agitation: for, if ſuch an attempt had begun with their power, it is not eaſy to aſſign a reaſon why it did not ſucceed; becauſe there were certain periods when her majeſty and her ſervants were extremely popular, and the houſe of *Hanover* not altogether ſo much, upon account of ſome behaviour and management in one or two of their miniſters here, and ſome other circumſtances that may better be paſſed over in ſilence: all which, however, had no other conſequences than that of repeated meſſages of kindneſs and aſſurance to the elector. During the laſt two years of the queen's life, her health was in ſuch a condition, that it was wondered how ſhe could hold out ſo long: and then, as I have already obſerved, it was too late and hazardous to engage in an enterprize which required ſo much time, and which the miniſters themſelves had rendered impracticable, by the whole courſe of their former proceedings, as well as by the continuance and heightening of thoſe diſſenſions which had early riſen among them.

The party now in power will eaſily agree, that this deſign of overthrowing the ſucceſſion could not be owing to any principle of conſcience in thoſe whom they accuſe; for they knew very well, by their own experience and obſervation, that ſuch kind of ſcruples have given but ſmall diſturbance of late years in theſe kingdoms. Since intereſt is therefore

therefore the only test by which we are to judge the intention of those who manage public affairs, it would have been but reasonable to have shewn how the interest of the queen's ministers could be advanced by introducing the pretender, before they were charged with such an intention. Her majesty was several years younger than her intended successor, and, at the beginning of that ministry, had no disorders, except the gout, which is not usually reckoned a shortener of life; and those in chief trust were, generally speaking, older than their mistress: so that no persons had ever a fairer prospect of running on the natural life of an *English* ministry; considering, likewise, the general vogue of the kingdom, at that time, in their favour. And it will be hard to find an instance in history of a sett of men, in full possession of power, so sanguine as to form an enterprize of overthrowing the government, without the visible prospect of a general defection, which (then at least) was not to be hoped for. Neither do I believe it was ever heard of, that a ministry in such circumstances durst engage in so dangerous an attempt, without the direct commands of their sovereign. And as to the persons then in service, if they may be allowed to have common sense, they would much sooner have surrendered their employments than hazard the loss of their heads at so great odds, before they had tried or changed the disposition of the parliament; which is an *accusation*, that, I think, none of their libellers have charged upon them, at least

till towards the end of their miniſtry, and then very abſurdly, becauſe the want of time, and other circumſtances, rendered ſuch a work impoſſible, for ſeveral reaſons which I have already related.

And whoever conſiders the late queen, ſo little enterpriſing in her nature, ſo much given to delay, and at the ſame time ſo obſtinate in her opinions (as *reſtineſs* is commonly attended with ſlowneſs), ſo great a purſuer of peace and quiet, and ſo exempt from the two powerful paſſions of love and hatred; will hardly think ſhe had a ſpirit turned for ſuch an undertaking: if we add to this, the contempt ſhe often expreſſed for the perſon and concerns of the chevalier, her brother, of which I have already ſaid enough to be underſtood.

It hath been objected againſt the late queen and her ſervants, as a mark of no favourable diſpoſition towards the houſe of *Hanover*, that the electoral prince was not invited to reſide in *England*: and, at the ſame time, it ought to be obſerved that this objection was raiſed and ſpread by the leaders of that party, who firſt oppoſed the counſel of inviting him, offering, among other arguments againſt it, the example of queen *Elizabeth*, who would not ſo much as ſuffer her ſucceſſor to be declared, expreſſing herſelf, that ſhe *would* not live with her grave-ſtone always in her ſight; although the caſe be by no means parallel between the two queens. For, in her late majeſty's reign, the crown was as firmly ſettled on the *Hanover* Family as the legiſlature could do it: and the queſtion was only, whe-

ther the presumptive heir, of distant kindred, should keep his court in the same kingdom and metropolis with the sovereign, while the nation was torn between different parties, to be at the head of that faction, which her majesty and the body of her people utterly disapproved? and, therefore, the leaders on both sides, when they were in power, did positively determine this question in the negative. And, if we may be allowed to judge by events, the reasons were cogent enough; since differences may happen to arise between two princes the most nearly allied in blood; although it be true indeed, that, where the duty to a parent is added to the allegiance of a subject, the consequence of family-dissensions may not always be considerable.

For my own part, I freely told my opinion to the ministers; and did afterwards offer many reasons for it in a discourse intended for the publick (but stopped by the queen's death), that the young grandson (whose name I cannot remember) should be invited over to be educated in *England*; by which, I conceived, the queen might be secure from the influence of cabals and factions; the zealots, who affected to believe the succession in danger, could have no pretences to complain; and the nation might one day hope to be governed by a prince of *English* manners and language, as well as acquainted with the true constitution of church and state. And this was the judgment of those at

the helm before I offered it: neither were they or their miſtreſs to be blamed, that ſuch a reſolution was not purſued. Perhaps, from what hath ſince happened, the reader will be able to ſatisfy himſelf.

I have now ſaid all I could think convenient (conſidering the time wherein I am writing) upon thoſe two points, which I propoſed to diſcourſe on; wherein I have dealt with the utmoſt impartiality, and, I think, upon the faireſt ſuppoſition, which is that of allowing men to act upon the motives of their intereſts and their paſſions: for I am not ſo weak as to think one miniſtry more virtuous than another, unleſs by chance, or by extraordinary prudence and virtue of the prince; which laſt, taking mankind in the lump, and adding the great counterbalance of royal education, is a very rare accident; and, where it happens, is even then of little uſe, when factions are violent. But it ſo falls out, that, among contending parties in *England*, the general intereſt of church and ſtate is more the private intereſt of one ſide than the other; ſo that, whoever profeſſeth to act upon a principle of obſerving the laws of his country, may have a ſafe rule to follow, by diſcovering whoſe particular advantage it chiefly is, that the conſtitution ſhould be preſerved entire in all its parts. For there cannot, properly ſpeaking, be above two parties in ſuch a government as ours; and one ſide will find themſelves obliged to take in all the ſubaltern denominations of thoſe who diſlike the pre-

ſent

sent establishment, in order to make themselves a balance against the other; and such a party, composed of mixed bodies, although they differ widely in the several fundamentals of religion and government, and all of them from the true public interest; yet, whenever their leaders are taken into power, under an ignorant, unactive, or ill-designing prince, will probably, by the assistance of time or force, become the majority, unless they be prevented by a steadiness, which there is little reason to hope, or by some revolution, which there is much more reason to fear. For abuses in administration may last much longer than politicians seem to be aware of; especially where some bold steps are made to corrupt the very fountain of power and legislature: in which case, as it may happen in some states, the whole body of the people are drawn in, by their own supposed consent, to be their own enslavers; and, where will they find a thread to wind themselves out of this labyrinth? or will they not rather wish to be governed by arbitrary power, after the manner of other nations? For whoever considers the course of the *Roman* empire after *Cæsar's* usurpation, the long continuance of the *Turkish* government, or the destruction of the *Gothic* balance in most kingdoms of *Europe*, will easily see how controlable that maxim is, that *res nolunt diu male administrari:* because, as corruptions are more natural to mankind than perfections, so they are more likely to

to have a longer continuance. For the vices of men, considered as individuals, are exactly the same when they are moulded into bodies; nor otherwise to be withheld in their effects, than by good fundamental laws; in which, when any great breaches are made, the consequence will be the same as in the life of a particular man, whose vices are seldom known to end but with himself.

THE

THE ADDRESS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS TO THE QUEEN.

[Drawn up by Dr. Swift, at the Command of the Lord Treasurer, and delivered by the Duke of Grafton.]

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, do, with the greateſt joy and ſatisfaction, return our humble thanks to your majeſty for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne, and for communicating to this houſe that peace is agreed on, ſo honourable to your majeſty, and ſafe and advantageous to your kingdoms; by which we hope, with the bleſſing of God, that your people will, in a few years, recover themſelves, after ſo long and expenſive a war. We likewiſe beg leave to congratulate with your majeſty upon the ſucceſs of your endeavours for a general peace; whereby the tranquillity and welfare of

of *Europe* will be owing (next to the Divine Providence) to your majesty's wisdom and goodness. We never had the least doubt but that your majesty, who is the greatest ornament and protector of the protestant religion, would do every thing for securing the protestant succession; towards which nothing can be more necessary than the perfect harmony there is between your majesty and the house of *Hanover*. And we do humbly assure your majesty, that, as you are pleased to express your dependence (next under God) upon the duty and affection of your people; we think ourselves bound, by the greatest ties of religion, loyalty, and gratitude, to make all returns that can be due, from the most obedient subjects, to the most indulgent sovereign.

AN

A N E C D O T E

RELATIVE TO THE

PEACE OF UTRECHT.

ONE Dr. *Helvetius* was fent from *Paris*, by *Torcy*, to *Devenwordt*, at the *Hague*, with the firft propofals for a peace feparate with *Holland*; a year after which the preliminaries, at *Gertrudenberg*, were tranfacted by the Mar. *D'Uxelles* and *Polignac*, and afterwards *Menager* was privately difpatched to the fame effect.

My lord *Strafford* had the firft intimation of thefe feparate tranfactions of *France* and *Holland*, from the duke of *Marborough* (as a thing a good while before in agitation), and afterwards from *Devenwordt* himfelf, who told him that he fent to *Paris* for Dr. *Helvetius* to cure him of a rheumatifm, which opportunity *Torcy* took to negotiate by him.

Helvetius fince confirmed the fame ftory to my lord *Strafford*, in the year 1720.

A CO-

A COPY OF Dr. SWIFT's MEMORIAL TO THE QUEEN.

APRIL 15, 1714.

THE change of miniſtry about four years ago, the fall of the duke *Marlborough*, and the proceedings ſince, in relation to the peace and treaties, are all capable of being very maliciouſly repreſented to poſterity, if they ſhould fall under the pen of ſome writer of the oppoſite party, as they probably may.

Upon theſe reaſons, it is neceſſary, for the honour of the queen and in juſtice to her ſervants, that ſome able hand ſhould be immediately employed to write the Hiſtory of her majeſty's reign; that the truth of things may be tranſmitted to future ages, and bear down the falſehood of malicious pens.

The dean of *St. Patrick's* is ready to undertake this work, humbly deſiring her majeſty will pleaſe

to

to appoint him her hiſtoriographer, not from any view of the profit (which is ſo inconſiderable that it will hardly ſerve to pay the expence of ſearching offices), but from an earneſt deſire to ſerve his queen and country; for which that employment will qualify him, by an opportunity of acceſs to thoſe places where papers and records are kept, which will be neceſſary to any who undertake ſuch an Hiſtory.

SOME

SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

UPON THE

CONSEQUENCES HOPED and FEARED

FROM THE

DEATH of the QUEEN.

AUG. 9, 1714.

IN order to ſet in a clear light what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, it will be convenient to examine the ſtate of the nation with reference to the two contending parties; this cannot well be done without ſome little retroſpection into the five laſt years of her late majeſty's reign.

I have it from unqueſtionable authority, that the ducheſs of *Marlborough's* favour began to decline very ſoon after the queen's acceſſion to the throne, and that the earl of *Godolphin's* held not much above two years longer; although her majeſty (no ill concealer of her affections) did not think fit to deprive them of their power until a long time after.

The duke of *Marlborough* and the earl of *Godolphin* having fallen early into the intereſts of the lower party, for certain reaſons not ſeaſonable here to be mentioned (but which may deſerve a place in

the hiſtory of that reign), they made large ſteps that way upon the death of the prince of *Denmark*, taking in ſeveral among the warmeſt leaders of that ſide, into the chief employments of the ſtate. Mr. *Harley*, then ſecretary of ſtate, who diſliked their proceedings, and had very near overthrown their whole ſcheme, was removed with the utmoſt indignation, and about the ſame time, ſir *Simon Harcourt* and Mr. *St. John*, with ſome others, voluntarily gave up their employments.

But the queen, who had then a great eſteem for the perſon and abilities of Mr. *Harley* (and, in proportion, of the other two, although at that time not equally known to her), was deprived of his ſervice with ſome regret; and, upon that and other motives well known at court, began to think herſelf hardly uſed; and ſeveral ſtories ran about, whether true or falſe, that her majeſty was not always treated with that duty ſhe might expect. Mean-time the church-party were loud in their complaints, ſurmiſing, from the virulence of ſeveral pamphlets, from certain bills projected to be brought into parliament, from endeavours to repeal the ſacramental teſt, from the avowed principles and free ſpeeches of ſome perſons in power, and other jealouſies needleſs to repeat, that ill deſigns were forming againſt the religion eſtabliſhed.

Theſe fears were all confirmed by the trial of *Sacheverel*, which drew the populace, as one man, into the party againſt the miniſtry and parliament.

The ministry were very suspicious, that the queen had still a reserve of favour for Mr. *Harley*, which appeared by a passage that happened some days after his removal: For, the earl of *Godolphin's* coach and his happening to meet near *Kensington*, the earl a few hours after reproached the queen, that she privately admitted Mr. *Harley*, and was not without some difficulty undeceived by her majesty's asseverations to the contrary.

Soon after the doctor's trial, this gentleman, by the queen's command and the intervention of Mrs. *Masham*, was brought up the back-stairs; and that princess, spirited by the addresses from all parts, which shewed the inclinations of her subjects to be very averse from the proceedings in court and parliament, was resolved to break the united power of the *Marlborough* and *Godolphin* families, and to begin this work by taking the disposal of employments into her own hands: for which an opportunity happened by the death of the earl of *Essex*, lieutenant of the Tower, whose employment was given to the earl *Rivers*, to the great discontent of the duke of *Northumberland*, then colonel of the *Oxford* regiment, to which the earl of *Hartford* was to succeed. Some time after, the chamberlain's staff was disposed of to the duke of *Shrewsbury* in the absence, and without the privity, of the earl of *Godolphin*. The earl of *Sunderland*'s removal followed, and lastly, that of the high treasurer himself, whose office was put into commission, whereof Mr. *Harley* (made at the same time chancellor of the exchequer) was one. I need say nothing of other removals, which

which are well enough known and remembered: let it ſuffice that, in eight or nine months time, the whole face of the court was altered, and very few friends of the former miniſtry left in any great ſtations there.

I have good reaſons to be aſſured, that, when the queen began this change, ſhe had no intentions to carry it ſo far as the church-party expected, and have ſince been ſo impatient to ſee. For, although ſhe were a true profeſſor of the religion eſtabliſhed, yet the firſt motives to this alteration did not ariſe from any dangers ſhe apprehended to that or the government; but from a deſire to get out of the dominion of ſome, who, ſhe thought, had kept her too much and too long in pupilage. She was in her own nature extremely dilatory and timorous; yet, upon ſome occaſions, poſitive to a great degree. And, when ſhe had got rid of thoſe who had, as ſhe thought, given her the moſt uneaſineſs, ſhe was inclined to ſtop, and entertain a fancy of acting upon a moderating ſcheme, from whence it was very difficult to remove her. At the ſame time I muſt confeſs my belief, that this imagination was put into her head, and made uſe of as an encouragement to begin that work, after which her adviſers might think it eaſier to prevail with her to go as far as they thought fit. That theſe were her majeſty's diſpoſitions in that conjuncture, may be confirmed by many inſtances. In the very height of the change, ſhe appeared very loth to part with two great officers of ſtate of the other party; and ſome,

whoſe abſence the new miniſters moſt earneſtly wiſhed, held in for above two years after.

Mr. *Harley*, who acted as firſt miniſter before he had the ſtaff, as he was a lover of gentle meaſures and inclined to procraſtination, ſo he could not, with any decency, preſs the queen too much againſt her nature; becauſe it would be like running upon the rock where his predeceſſors had ſplit. But, violent humours running both in the kingdom and the new parliament, againſt the principles and perſons of the low-church party, gave this miniſter a very difficult part to play. The warm members in both houſes, eſpecially among the commons, preſſed for a thorough change, and ſo did almoſt all the queen's new ſervants, eſpecially after Mr. *Harley* was made an earl and high treaſurer. He could not, in good policy, own his want of power, nor fling the blame upon his miſtreſs. And, as too much ſecrecy was one of his faults, he would often, upon theſe occaſions, keep his neareſt friends in the dark. The truth is, he had likewiſe other views, which were better ſuited to the maxims of ſtate in general, than to that ſituation of affairs. By leaving many employments in the hands of the diſcontented party, he fell in with the queen's humour; he hoped to acquire the reputation of lenity; and kept a great number of expectants in order, who had liberty to hope, while any thing remained undiſpoſed of. He ſeemed alſo to think, as other miniſters have done, that, ſince factions are neceſſary in ſuch a government as ours, it would be prudent

not altogether to lay the present one proſtrate, leſt another more plauſible, and therefore not ſo eaſy to grapple with, might ariſe in its ſtead.

However, it is certain that a great part of the load he bore was unjuſtly laid on him. He had no favourites among the whig-party, whom he kept in upon the ſcore of old friendſhip or acquaintance; and he was a greater object of their hatred than all the reſt of the miniſtry together.

A
SERMON
UPON THE
MARTYRDOM of K. CHARLES I.

Preached at St. *Patrick's*, *Dublin*, *Jan.* 30, 1725-6, being *Sunday*.

GENESIS xlix. 5, 6, 7.

SIMEON *and* LEVI *are brethren*; *inſtruments of cruelty are in their habitations.*

O my ſoul, come not thou into their ſecret, unto their aſſembly, mine honour, be not thou united; for in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall.

Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in JACOB, *and ſcatter them in* ISRAEL.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often cenſured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent king and bleſſed martyr CHARLES I. who rather choſe to die on a ſcaffold than betray the religion and liberties of his people, wherewith GOD and the laws had entruſted him. But, at the ſame time, it is manifeſt that thoſe who make ſuch cenſures are either

ther people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of those who contrived the murder of that prince, and have not yet shewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alledged, that the observation of this day hath served to continue and encrease the animosity and enmity among our country-men, and to disunite Protestants; that a law was made, upon the restoration of the martyr's son, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occasion; and, since none are now alive who were actors or instruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations.

Now, because I conceive most of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

First, relate to you so much of the story as may be sufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the consequences which this bloody deed had upon these kingdoms:

And, lastly, I will shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the first, In the reign of this prince, *Charles* the martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they are in our times, and so had been for at least 700 years before; and the best princes we ever had carried their power much further than the blessed martyr offered to do in the most blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the

the crown having been prodigally beſtowed to favourites in the preceding reigns, the ſucceeding kings could not ſupport themſelves without taxes raiſed by parliament; which put them under a neceſſity of frequently calling thoſe aſſemblies; and, the crown-lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beſide the poſſeſſions of which the church had been robbed by *Henry* VIII. power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the ſide of the people, by whom even the juſt rights of the crown were often diſputed.

But further: upon the cruel perſecution raiſed againſt the Proteſtants, under queen *Mary*, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to ſeek for ſhelter, ſeveral went and reſided at *Geneva*, which is a commonwealth governed without a king, and where the religion, contrived by *Calvin*, is without the order of biſhops. When the Proteſtant faith was reſtored by queen *Elizabeth*, thoſe who fled to *Geneva* returned among the reſt home to *England*, and were grown ſo fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they uſed all poſſible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the ſame time continually preaching and railing againſt ceremonies and diſtinct habits of of the clergy, taxing whatever they diſliked, as a remnant of Popery, and continued extremely troubleſome to the church and ſtate, under that great queen, as well as her ſucceſſor king *James* I. Theſe people called themſelves *Puritans*, as pretending to a purer faith than thoſe of the church eſtabliſhed.

And

And theſe were the founders of our diſſenters. They did not think it ſufficient to leave all the errors of Popery, but threw off many laudable and edifying inſtitutions of the primitive church, and, at laſt, even the government of biſhops; which, having been ordained by the apoſtles themſelves, had continued without interruption, in all Chriſtian churches, for above 1500 years. And all this they did, not becauſe thoſe things were evil, but becauſe they were kept by the Papiſts. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; becauſe, as I have already ſaid, the city of *Geneva*, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

Theſe Puritans, about the middle of the martyr's reign, were grown to be a conſiderable faction in the kingdom, and in the lower houſe of parliament. They filled the publick with the moſt falſe and bitter libels againſt the biſhops and clergy, accuſing chiefly the very beſt among them of Popery; and, at the ſame time, the houſe of commons grew ſo inſolent and uneaſy to the king, that they refuſed to furniſh him with neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of his family, unleſs upon ſuch conditions as he could not ſubmit to without forfeiting his conſcience and honour, and even his coronation-oath. And, in ſuch an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way juſtifiable, of raiſing money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his ſide: for wicked judges there

were in thoſe times as well as in ours. There were likewiſe many complaints, and ſometimes juſtly, made againſt the proceedings of a certain court, called the Star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity; but it had ſuffered ſome corruptions, for which, however, the king was no way anſwerable. I cannot recollect any more ſubject of complaint with the leaſt ground of reaſon; nor is it needful to recollect them, becauſe this gracious king did, upon the firſt application, redreſs all grievances by an act of parliament, and put it out of his power to do any hardſhips for the future. But that wicked faction in the houſe of commons, not content with all thoſe marks of his juſtice and condeſcenſion, urged ſtill for more; and, joining with a factious party from *Scotland*, who had the ſame fancies in religion, forced him to paſs an act for cutting off the head of his beſt and chief miniſter; and, at the ſame time, compelled him, by tumults and threatenings of a packt rabble, poiſoned with the ſame doctrines, to paſs another law by which it ſhould not be in his power to diſſolve that parliament without their own conſent. Thus, by the greateſt weakneſs and infatuation that ever poſſeſſed any man's ſpirit, this prince did in effect ſign his own deſtruction. For the houſe of commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiouſly; ſent him every day ſome unreaſonable demand; and, when he refuſed to grant it, made uſe of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both houſes, without the king's

conſent,

consent, should be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reason and equity, as well as to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in *Ireland* broke out, wherein his parliament refused to assist him; nor would accept his offer to come hither in person to subdue those rebels. These, and a thousand other barbarities, forced the king to summon his loyal subjects to his standard in his own defence. Mean-while the *English* parliament, instead of helping the poor Protestants here, seized on the very army that his majesty was sending over for our relief, and turned them against their own sovereign. The rebellion in *England* continued for four or five years: at last the king was forced to fly in disguise to the *Scots*, who sold him to the rebels. And these Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his sacred person in a mock court of justice, and cut off his head; which he might have saved, if he would have yielded to betray the constitution in church and state.

In this whole proceeding, *Simeon* and *Levi* were brethren; the wicked insinuations of those fanatical preachers stirring up the cruelty of the soldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the house every member of parliament, whom they apprehended to bear the least inclination towards an agreement with the king, suffering only those to enter who thirsted chiefly for his blood; and this is the very account given by their own writers. From whence it is clear that this prince was, in all respects, a real martyr

martyr for the true religion and the liberty of the people. That odious parliament had firſt turned the biſhops out of the houſe of lords; in a few years after, they murdered their king; then immediately aboliſhed the whole houſe of lords; and ſo, at laſt, obtained their wiſhes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of *Geneva*, without a king, a biſhop, or a nobleman; and this they blaſphemouſly called the kingdom of *Chriſt* and his ſaints.

This is enough for your information on the firſt head: I ſhall therefore proceed to the ſecond, wherein I will ſhew you the miſerable conſequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in theſe nations.

Firſt, the *Iriſh* rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked *Engliſh* parliament. For the leaders in the *Iriſh* popiſh maſſacre would never have dared to ſtir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebellious ſpirit in the *Engliſh* houſe of commons, which they very well knew muſt diſable the king from ſending any ſupplies to his Proteſtant ſubjects here; and, therefore, we may truely ſay that the *Engliſh* parliament held the king's hands, while the *Iriſh* papiſts here were cutting our grandfathers throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan-parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of ſettling a form either of religion or civil government, but changed every day from ſchiſm to ſchiſm, from hereſy to hereſy, and

and from one faction to another. From whence arose that wild confusion still continuing in our several ways of serving God, and those absurd notions of civil power, which have so often torn us with factions more than any other nation in *Europe*.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder have been owing the rise and progress of Atheism among us. For men, observing what numberless villanies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were easily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere imposture: and the same spirit of infidelity, so far spread among us at this present, is nothing but the fruit of the seeds sown by those rebellious hypocritical saints.

Fourthly, The old virtue and loyalty, and generous spirit of the *English* nation, were wholly corrupted by the power, the doctrine, and the example, of those wicked people. Many of the antient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their prince and country, or murdered by the merciless courts of justice. Some of the worst among them favoured or complied with the reigning iniquities, and not a few of the new sett created, when the martyr's son was restored, were such who had drank too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered prince were forced to fly, for the safety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them at least, I mean

mean king *James* II. was ſeduced to popery; which ended in the loſs of his kingdoms, the miſery and deſolation of this country, and a long and expenſive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late king; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blaſphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his intereſts and ours were the ſame: and God gave him greater ſucceſs than our ſins deſerved. But, as a houſe thrown down by a ſtorm is ſeldom re-built without ſome change in the foundation; ſo it hath happened, that, ſince the late Revolution, men have ſate much looſer in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious than ever, men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up thoſe very opinions profeſſed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the bleſſed martyr to the ſcaffold.

Sixthly, Another conſequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was, the deſtroying or defacing of ſuch vaſt numbers of God's houſes. *In their ſelf-will, they digged down a wall.* If a ſtranger ſhould now travel in *England*, and obſerve the churches in his way, he could not otherwiſe conclude, than that ſome vaſt army of Turks or Heathens had been ſent on purpoſe to ruin and blot out all marks of Chriſtianity. They ſpared neither the ſtatues of ſaints, nor antient prelates, nor kings, nor benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations, ſeized the veſſels

of

of ſilver ſet apart for the holieſt uſe, tore down the moſt innocent ornaments both within and without, made the houſes of prayer dens of thieves, or ſtables for cattle. Theſe were the mildeſt effects of Puritan zeal and devotion for Chriſt; and this was what themſelves affected to call a Thorough-reformation. In this kingdom, thoſe ravages were not ſo eaſily ſeen; for, the people here being too poor to raiſe ſuch noble temples, the mean ones we had were not defaced, but totally deſtroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that, although God might have found out many other ways to have puniſhed a ſinful people, without permitting this rebellion and murder; yet, as the courſe of the world hath run ever ſince, we need ſeek for no other cauſes, of all the public evils we have hitherto ſuffered, or may ſuffer for the future, by the miſconduct of princes, or wickedneſs of the people.

I go on now, upon the third head, to ſhew you to what good uſes this ſolemn day of humiliation may be applied.

Firſt, It may be an inſtruction to princes themſelves, to be careful in the choice of thoſe who are their adviſers in matters of law. All the judges of *England*, except one or two, adviſed the king, that he might legally raiſe money upon the ſubjects for building of ſhips, without conſent of parliament; which, as it was the greateſt overſight of his reign, ſo it proved the principal foundation of all his miſfortunes. Princes may likewiſe learn from hence, not to ſacrifiſe a faithful ſervant to the rage of a

faction,

faction, nor to trust any body of men with a greater share of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much less to deposite it in their hands until they shall please to restore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the consequences that have arisen from it, we shall be convinced how necessary it is for those in power to curb, in season, all such unruly spirits as desire to introduce new doctrines and discipline in the church, or new forms of government in the state. Those wicked Puritans began, in queen *Elizabeth's* time, to quarrel only with surplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the cross in baptism, and the like; thence they went on to further matters of higher importance; and, at last, they must needs have the whole government of the church dissolved. This great work they compassed, first, by depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament; then they abolished the whole order; and, at last, which was their original design, they seized on all the church-lands, and divided the spoil among themselves, and, like *Jeroboam*, made priests of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it upon the murder of their king, and discarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to shew what a *Babel* they had built, after twelve years trial and twenty several sorts of government, the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the son of him whom those reformers had sacrifised.

ssed. And thus were *Simeon* and *Levi* divided in *Jacob* and scattered in *Israel*.

Thirdly, Although the successors of those Puritans, I mean our present Dissenters, do not think fit to observe this day of humiliation; yet it would be very proper in them, upon some occasions, to renounce, in a public manner, those principles upon which their predecessors acted; and it will be more prudent in them to do so, because those very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found, by experience, that, after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their king, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand.

Fourthly, Those who profess to be followers of our church established, and yet presume in discourse to justify or excuse that rebellion and murder of the king, ought to consider, how utterly contrary all such opinions are to the doctrine of *Christ* and his apostles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of it's true professors for above an hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I speak it with grief of heart, we have heard even sermons of a strange nature: although reason would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and lessening the guilt of those who murdered

dered the beſt of kings in cold blood, and, for a time, deſtroyed the very monarchy itſelf. Pray God, we may never more hear ſuch doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it ſcattered about in print, to poiſon the people.

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the conſequences they had upon theſe nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie, and to miſtruſt thoſe deluding ſpirits, who, under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may ſay what they pleaſe; but it is no hard thing at all for the meaneſt perſon, who hath common underſtanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling; if he be ſecure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himſelf againſt injuſtice and oppreſſion; if his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it (which he may be very ſecure of, let it be what it will); he ought to be fully ſatisfied, and give no offence, by writing or diſcourſe, to the worſhip eſtabliſhed, as the diſſenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new viſions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet, and poſſeſs them in ſilence, without diſturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proſelytes. This was the folly and madneſs of thoſe antient Puritan fanaticks: they muſt needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God

God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their abſurdities and blaſphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghoſt.

To conclude this head. In anſwer to that objection of keeping up animoſity and hatred between Proteſtants, by the obſervation of this day; if there be any ſect, or ſort of people among us, who profeſs the ſame principles in religion and government which thoſe Puritan rebels put in practice, I think it is the intereſt of all thoſe who love the church and king, to keep up as ſtrong a party againſt them as poſſible, until they ſhall, in a body, renounce all thoſe wicked opinions upon which their predeceſſors acted, to the diſgrace of Chriſtianity and the perpetual infamy of the *Engliſh* nation.

When we accuſe the Papiſts of the horrid doctrine, that no faith ought to be kept with hereticks, they deny it to a man; and yet we juſtly think it dangerous to truſt them, becauſe we know their actions have been ſometimes ſuitable to that opinion: but the followers of thoſe who beheaded the martyr have not yet renounced their principles; and, till they do, they may be juſtly ſuſpected: Neither will the bare name of Proteſtants ſet them right. For, ſurely, *Chriſt* requires more from us than a profeſſion of hating Popery, which a Turk or an Atheiſt may do as well as a Proteſtant.

If an enſlaved people ſhould recover their liberty, from a tyrannical power of any ſort, who could blame

blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thanksgiving? And doth not the destruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocrisy, and cruelty of a wicked race of soldiers and preachers, and other sons of *Belial*, equally require a solemn time of humiliation? especially since the consequences of that bloody scene still continue, as I have already shewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I proposed to discourse on. But, before I conclude, I must give a caution to those who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for absolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God, and, as the apostle says, *The powers that be are ordained of God*; but this is in the same sense that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever possession we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in those, or any other words of Scripture, to justify tyrannical power, or the savage cruelties of those Heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apostles: And so St. *Paul* concludes, *The powers that be are ordained of God*: For what? why, *for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise, the reward, of them that do well.* There is no more inward value in the greatest emperor, than in the meanest of his subjects: His body is composed of the same substance, the same parts, and with the same or greater infirmities: His education is generally worse, by flattery, and idleness and luxury, and

those evil dispositions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore against common sense, that his private personal interest, or pleasure, should be put in the balance with the safety of millions, every one of which is equal by nature, equal in the sight of God, equally capable of salvation; and it is for their sakes, not his own, that he is entrusted with the government over them. He hath as high trust as can safely be reposed in one man, and, if he discharge it as he ought, he deserves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His personal failings we have nothing to do with, and errors in government are to be imputed to his ministers in the state. To what height those errors may be suffered to proceed, is not the business of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppressions grow too great and universal to be borne, nature or necessity may find a remedy. But, if a private person reasonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital, it would be an hard condition indeed, not to give the same allowance to a prince; who must see with other men's eyes, and hear with other men's ears, which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the martyr, and is so, in some degree, of all other princes. Yet, this we may justly say in defence of the common people, in all civilized nations, that it must be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the subjects will not rather chuse to live in peace and

and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the adminiſtration, unleſs where the vulgar are deluded by falſe preachers to grow fond of new viſions and fancies in religion, which, managed by dextrous men, for ſiniſter ends of malice, envy or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the caſe in the whole progreſs of that great rebellion, and the murder of king *Charles* I. but the late Revolution under the prince of *Orange* was occaſioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppreſſion and injuſtice there beginning from the throne. For that unhappy prince, king *James* II. did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a falſe religion upon his ſubjects, for which he was deſervedly rejected, ſince there could be no other remedy found, or at leaſt agreed on. But, under the bleſſed martyr, the deluded people would have forced many falſe religions, not only on their fellow-ſubjects, but even upon their ſovereign himſelf, and at the ſame time invaded all his undoubted rights; and, becauſe he would not comply, raiſed a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permiſſion of God, they prevailed, and put their ſovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, thoſe who ſeem to think they cannot otherwiſe juſtify the late Revolution, and the change of the ſucceſſion, than by leſſening the guilt of the Puritans, do certainly put the greateſt affront imaginable upon the preſent powers, by

ſuppoſing

ſuppoſing any relation, or reſemblance, between that rebellion and the late Revolution; and, conſequently, that the preſent eſtabliſhment is to be defended by the ſame arguments, which thoſe uſurpers made uſe of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws both of God and man.

One great deſign of my diſcourſe was to give you warning againſt running into either extreme of two bad opinions, with relation to obedience. As kings are called gods upon earth, ſo ſome would allow them an equal power with God, over all laws and ordinances; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion of the ſubject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince; which however, I hope, was never meant by thoſe who pleaded for paſſive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was firſt charged with it, but hath ſometimes gone over to the other, to ſerve many an evil turn of intereſt or ambition, who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the higheſt maintainers of it.

On the other ſide, ſome look upon kings as anſwerable for every miſtake or omiſſion in government, and bound to comply with the moſt unreaſonable demands of an unquiet faction, which was the caſe of thoſe who perſecuted the bleſſed martyr of this day from his throne to the ſcaffold.

Between theſe two extremes, it is eaſy, from what hath been ſaid, to chuſe a middle; to be good

good and loyal ſubjects, yet, according to your power, faithful aſſertors of your religion and liberties. To avoid all broachers and preachers of new-fangled doctrines in the church; to be ſtrict obſervers of the laws, which cannot be juſtly taken from you without your own conſent. In ſhort, *to obey God and the king, and meddle not with thoſe who are given to change.*

Which that you may all do, &c.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

COURT and EMPIRE of JAPAN.

WRITTEN IN MDCCXXVIII.

REGOGE was the thirty-fourth Emperor of *Japan*, and began his reign in the year 341 of the Christian æra, ſucceeding to *Nena*, a princeſs who governed with great felicity.

There had been a revolution in that empire about twenty-ſix years before, which made ſome breaches in the hereditary line; and *Regoge*, ſucceſſor to *Nena*, although of the royal family, was a diſtant relation.

There were two violent parties in the empire, which began in the time of the Revolution above-mentioned; and, at the death of the empreſs *Nena*, were in the higheſt degree of animoſity, each charging the other with a deſign of introducing new Gods, and changing the civil conſtitution. The names of theſe two parties were Huſiges and Yortes. The latter were thoſe whom *Nena*, the late empreſs, moſt favoured towards the end of her reign, and by whoſe advice ſhe governed.

H 4 The

The Husige faction, enraged at their loss of power, made private applications to *Regoge*, during the life of the empress; which prevailed so far, that, upon her death, the new emperor wholly disgraced the Yortes, and employed only the Husiges in all his affairs. The *Japanese* author highly blames his Imperial majesty's proceeding in this affair; because it was allowed, on all hands, that he had then a happy opportunity of reconciling parties for ever by a moderating scheme. But he, on the contrary, began his reign by openly disgracing the principal and most popular Yortes, some of which had been chiefly instrumental in raising him to the throne. By this mistaken step, he occasioned a rebellion; which, although it were soon quelled by some very surprising turns of fortune, yet the fear, whether real or pretended, of new attempts, engaged him in such immense charges, that, instead of clearing any part of that prodigious debt left on his kingdom by the former war, which might have been done, by any tolerable management, in twelve years of the most profound peace; he left his empire loaden with a vast addition to the old incumbrance.

This prince, before he succeeded to the empire of *Japan*, was king of *Tedsu*, a dominion seated on the continent, to the west side of *Japan*. *Tedsu* was the place of his birth, and more beloved by him than his new empire; for there he spent some months almost every year, and thither was supposed

to

to have conveyed great ſums of money, ſaved out of his imperial revenues.

There were two maritime towns of great importance bordering upon *Tedſu*: of theſe he purchaſed a litigated title; and, to ſupport it, was forced not only to entrench deeply on his *Japaneſe* revenues, but to engage in alliances very dangerous to the *Japaneſe* empire.

Japan was at that time a limited monarchy, which, ſome authors are of opinion, was introduced there by a detachment from the numerous army of *Brennus*, who ravaged a great part of *Aſia*; and thoſe of them who fixed in *Japan* left behind them that kind of military inſtitution, which the Northern people, in enſuing ages, carried through moſt parts of *Europe*; the generals becoming kings, the great officers a ſenate of nobles, with a repreſentative from every centenary of private ſoldiers; and, in the aſſent of the majority in theſe two bodies, confirmed by the general, the legiſlature conſiſted.

I need not farther explain a matter ſo univerſally known; but return to my ſubject.

The Huſige faction, by a groſs piece of negligence in the Yortes, had ſo far inſinuated themſelves and their opinions into the favour of *Regoge* before he came to the empire, that this prince firmly believed them to be his only true friends, and the others his mortal enemies. By this opinion he governed all the actions of his reign.

The

The emperor died ſuddenly, in his journey to *Tedſu*; where, according to his uſual cuſtom, he was going to paſs the ſummer.

This prince, during his whole reign, continued an abſolute ſtranger to the language, the manners, the laws, and the religion of *Japan*; and, paſſing his whole time among old miſtreſſes, or a few privados, left the whole management of the empire in the hands of a miniſter, upon the condition of being made eaſy in his perſonal revenues and the management of parties in the ſenate. His laſt miniſter, who governed in the moſt arbitrary manner for ſeveral years, he was thought to hate more than he did any other perſon in *Japan*, except his only ſon, the heir to the empire. The diſlike he bore to the former was, becauſe the miniſter, under pretence that he could not govern the ſenate without diſpoſing of employments among them, would not ſuffer his maſter to oblige one ſingle perſon, but diſpoſed of all to his own relations and dependents. But, as to that continued and virulent hatred he bore to the prince his ſon, from the beginning of his reign to his death, the hiſtorian hath not accounted for it, further than by various conjectures, which do not deſerve to be related.

The miniſter above-mentioned was of a family not contemptible, had been early a ſenator, and from his youth a mortal enemy to the Yortes. He had been formerly diſgraced in the ſenate, for ſome frauds in the management of a public truſt. He was perfectly ſkilled, by long practice, in the ſe-

natorial

natorial forms; and dextrous in the purchafing of votes, from thofe who could find their accounts better in complying with his meafures, than they could probably lofe by any tax that might be charged on the kingdom. He feemed to fail, in point of policy, by not concealing his gettings, never fcrupling openly to lay out vaft fums of money in paintings, buildings, and purchafing eftates; when it was known, that, upon his firft coming into bufinefs, upon the death of the emprefs *Nena*, his fortune was but inconfiderable. He had the moft boldnefs and the leaft magnanimity that ever any mortal was endowed with. By enriching his relations, friends, and dependants, in a moft exorbitant manner, he was weak enough to imagine that he had provided a fupport againft an evil day. He had the beft among all falfe appearances of courage, which was a moft unlimited affurance, whereby he would fwagger the boldeft men into a dread of his power; but had not the fmalleft portion of magnanimity, growing jealous, and difgracing every man, who was known to bear the leaft civility to thofe he difliked. He had fome fmall fmattering in books, but no manner of politenefs; nor, in his whole life, was ever known to advance any one perfon, upon the fcore of wit, learning, or abilities for bufinefs. The whole fyftem of his miniftry was corruption; and he never gave bribe or penfion, without frankly telling the receivers what he expected from them, and threatening them

to

to put an end to his bounty, if they failed to comply in every circumſtance.

A few months before the emperor's death, there was a deſign concerted between ſome eminent perſons of both parties, whom the deſperate ſtate of the empire had united, to accuſe the miniſter at the firſt meeting of a new-choſen ſenate, which was then to aſſemble according to the laws of that empire. And it was believed, that the vaſt expence he muſt be at in chuſing an aſſembly proper for his purpoſe, added to the low ſtate of the treaſury, the encreaſing number of penſioners, the great diſcontent of the people, and the perſonal hatred of the emperor; would, if well laid open in the ſenate, be of weight enough to ſink the miniſter, when it ſhould appear to his very penſioners and creatures that he could not ſupply them much longer.

While this ſcheme was in agitation, an account came of the emperor's death; and the prince his ſon, with univerſal joy, mounted the throne of *Japan*.

The new emperor had always lived a private life, during the reign of his father; who, in his annual abſence, never truſted him more than once with the reins of government, which he held ſo evenly that he became too popular to be confided in any more. He was thought not unfavourable to the Yortes, at leaſt not altogether to approve the virulence wherewith his father proceeded againſt them; and therefore, immediately upon his ſucceſ-

ſion

ſion, the principal perſons of that denomination came, in ſeveral bodies, to kiſs the hem of his garment, whom he received with great courteſy, and ſome of them with particular marks of diſtinction.

The prince, during the reign of his father, having not been truſted with any public charge, employed his leiſure in learning the language, the religion, the cuſtoms, and diſpoſition of the *Japaneſe*; wherein he received great information, among others, from *Nomptoc*, maſter of his finances, and preſident of the ſenate, who ſecretly hated *Lelop-Aw*, the miniſter; and likewiſe from *Ramneh*, a moſt eminent ſenator; who, deſpairing to do any good with the father, had, with great induſtry, ſkill, and decency, uſed his endeavours to inſtil good principles into the young prince.

Upon the news of the former emperor's death, a grand council was ſummoned of courſe, where little paſſed beſides directing the ceremony of proclaiming the ſucceſſor. But, in ſome days after, the new emperor, having conſulted with thoſe perſons in whom he could chiefly confide, and maturely conſidered in his own mind the preſent ſtate of his affairs, as well as the diſpoſition of his people, convoked another aſſembly of his council; wherein, after ſome time ſpent in general buſineſs, ſuitable to the preſent emergency, he directed *Lelop-Aw* to give him, in as ſhort terms as he conveniently could, an account of the nation's debts, of his management in the ſenate, and his negotiations with foreign courts: Which that miniſter having

having delivered, according to his ufual manner, with much affurance and little fatisfaction, the emperor defired to be fully fatisfied in the following particulars.

Whether the vaft expence of chufing fuch members into the fenate, as would be content to do the public bufinefs, were abfolutely neceffary ?

Whether thofe members, thus chofen in, would crofs and impede the neceffary courfe of affairs, unlefs they were fupplied with great fums of money and continued penfions ?

Whether the fame corruption and perverfenefs were to be expected from the nobles ?

Whether the empire of *Japan* were in fo low a condition, that the imperial envoys, at foreign courts, muft be forced to purchafe alliances, or prevent a war by immenfe bribes, given to the minifters of all the neighbouring princes ?

Why the debts of the empire were fo prodigioufly advanced, in a peace of twelve years at home and abroad ?

Whether the Yortes were univerfally enemies to the religion and laws of the empire, and to the imperial family now reigning ?

Whether thofe perfons, whofe revenues confift in lands, do uot give furer pledges of fidelity to the publick, and are more interefted in the welfare of the empire, than others whofe fortunes confift only in money ?

And becaufe *Lelop-Aw*, for feveral years paft, had engroffed the whole adminiftration, the em-

peror ſignified, that from him alone he expected an anſwer.

This miniſter, who had ſagacity enough to cultivate an intereſt in the young prince's family during the late emperor's life, received early intelligence from one of his emiſſaries of what was intended at the council, and had ſufficient time to frame as plauſible an anſwer as his cauſe and conduct would allow. However, having deſired a few minutes to put his thoughts in order, he delivered them in the following manner:

"SIR,

"Upon this ſhort unexpected warning, to an-
"ſwer your imperial majeſty's queries, I ſhould be
"wholly at a loſs, in your majeſty's auguſt pre-
"ſence, and that of this moſt noble aſſembly, if I
"were armed with a weaker defence than my own
"loyalty and integrity, and the proſperous ſucceſs
"of my endeavours.

"It is well known that the death of the empreſs
"*Nena* happened in a moſt miraculous juncture;
"and that, if ſhe had lived two months longer,
"your illuſtrious family would have been deprived
"of your right, and we ſhould have ſeen an uſurper
"upon your throne, who would have wholly
"changed the conſtitution of this empire, both
"civil and ſacred; and, although that empreſs died
"in a moſt opportune ſeaſon, yet the peaceable en-
"trance of your majeſty's father was effected by a
"continual ſeries of miracles. The truth of this

appears

"appears by that unnatural rebellion which the "Yortes raiſed, without the leaſt provocation, in "the firſt year of the late emperor's reign, which "may be ſufficient to convince your majeſty, that "every ſoul of that denomination was, is, and will "be for ever, a favourer of the pretender, a mortal "enemy to your illuſtrious family, and an intro- "ducer of new Gods into the empire. Upon this "foundation was built the whole conduct of our "affairs; and, ſince a great majority of the king- "dom was at that time reckoned to favour the "Yortes faction, who, in the regular courſe of "elections, muſt certainly have been choſen mem- "bers of the ſenate then to be convoked; it was "neceſſary, by the force of money, to influence "elections in ſuch a manner, that your majeſty's "father might have a ſufficient number to weigh "down the ſcale on his ſide, and thereby carry on "thoſe meaſures which could only ſecure him and "his family in the poſſeſſion of the empire. To "ſupport this original plan, I came into the ſer- "vice: but the members of the ſenate, knowing "themſelves every day more neceſſary, upon the "chuſing of a new ſenate, I found the charges "to encreaſe; and that, after they were choſen, "they inſiſted upon an increaſe of their penſions; "becauſe they well knew that the work could not "be carried on without them: and I was more "general in my donatives, becauſe I thought it "was more for the honour of the crown, that every "vote ſhould paſs without a diviſion; and that,

 "when

" when a debate was proposed, it should immediately be quashed by putting the question.

" Sir, The date of the present senate is expired, " and your imperial majesty is now to convene a " new one; which, I confess, will be somewhat " more expensive than the last, because the Yortes, " from your favourable reception, have begun to " re-assume a spirit whereof the country had some " intelligence; and we know the majority of the " people, without proper management, would be " still in that fatal interest. However, I dare undertake, with the charge only of four hundred " thousand sprangs [*a*], to return as great a majority of senators of the true stamp, as your majesty can desire. As to the sums of money paid in " foreign courts, I hope, in some years, to ease the " nation of them, when we and our neighbours " come to a good understanding. However, I " will be bold to say, they are cheaper than a war, " where your majesty is to be a principal.

" The pensions, indeed, to senators and other " persons, must needs increase, from the restiveness " of some, and scrupulous nature of others; and " the new members, who are unpractised, must " have better encouragement. However, I dare " undertake to bring the eventual charge within " eight hundred thousand sprangs. But to make this " easy, there shall be new funds raised, of which I have " several schemes ready, without taxing bread or flesh, " which shall be referred to more pressing occasions.

[*a*] About a million sterling.

" Your

"Your majesty knows it is the laudable custom "of all Eastern princes, to leave the whole ma-"nagement of affairs, both civil and military, to "their visirs. The appointments for your family, "and private purse, shall exceed those of your pre-"decessors: You shall be at no trouble, further "than to appear sometimes in council, and leave "the rest to me: you shall hear no clamour or "complaints: your senate shall, upon occasions, "declare you the best of princes, the father of "your country, the arbiter of *Asia*, the defender "of the oppressed, and the delight of mankind.

"Sir, Hear not those who would most falsely, "impiously, and maliciously insinuate, that your "government can be carried on without that whole-"some, necessary expedient, of sharing the public "revenue with your faithful deserving senators. "This, I know, my enemies are pleased to call "bribery and corruption. Be it so: but I insist, "that, without this bribery and corruption, the "wheels of government will not turn, or at least "will be apt to take fire, like other wheels, unless "they be greased at proper times. If an angel "from heaven should descend, to govern this em-"pire upon any other scheme than what our ene-"mies call corruption, he must return from whence "he came, and leave the work undone.

"Sir, It is well known we are a trading nation, "and consequently cannot thrive in a bargain where "nothing is to be gained. The poor electors, who "run from their shops, or the plough, for the ser-

"vice

"vice of their country, are they not to be consi-
"dered for their labour and their loyalty? The
"candidates, who, with the hazard of their per-
"sons, the loss of their characters, and the ruin
"of their fortunes, are preferred to the senate, in
"a country where they are strangers, before the
"very lords of the soil; are they not to be re-
"warded for their zeal to your majesty's service,
"and qualified to live in your metropolis as be-
"comes the lustre of their stations?

"Sir, If I have given great numbers of the most
"profitable employments among my own relations
"and nearest allies, it was not out of any parti-
"ality, but because I know them best, and can
"best depend upon them. I have been at the pains
"to mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler
"heads might probably have been found; but they
"would not be equally under my direction. A
"huntsman, who hath the absolute command of
"his dogs, will hunt more effectually than with a
"better pack, to whose manner and cry he is a
"stranger.

"Sir, Upon the whole, I will appeal to all those
"who best knew your royal father, whether that bles-
"sed monarch had ever one anxious thought for the
"publick, or disappointment, or uneasiness, or want
"of money for all his occasions, during the time of
"my administration? And, how happy the people
"confessed themselves to be under such a king, I
"leave to their own numerous addresses; which al
"politicians will allow to be the most infallible

"proof how any nation ſtands affected to their ſo-
"vereign."

Lelop-Aw, having ended his ſpeech and ſtruck his forehead thrice againſt the table, as the cuſtom is in *Japan*, ſate down with great complacency of mind, and much applauſe of his adherents, as might be obſerved by their countenances and their whiſpers. But the emperor's behaviour was remarkable; for, during the whole harangue, he appeared equally attentive and uneaſy. After a ſhort pauſe, his majeſty commanded that ſome other counſellor ſhould deliver his thoughts, either to confirm or object againſt what had been ſpoken by *Lelop-Aw*.

A
LETTER
TO THE
WRITER
OF THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

[Vide the CRAFTSMAN, 1727.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, in one of your papers, you declare an intention of turning them, during the dead feafon of the year, into accounts of domeftic and foreign intelligence; yet I think we, your correfpondents, fhould not underftand your meaning fo literally, as if you intended to reject inferting any other paper, which might probably be ufeful for the publick. Neither, indeed, am I fully convinced, that this new courfe you refolve to take will render you more fecure than your former laudable practice, of inferting fuch fpeculations as were fent you by feveral well-wifhers to the good of the kingdom; however grating fuch notices might be

to ſome, who wanted neither power nor inclination to reſent them at your coſt. For, ſince there is a direct law againſt ſpreading falſe news, if you ſhould venture to tell us in one of the Craftſmen that the dey of *Algiers* had got the tooth-ach, or the king of *Bantam* had taken a purge, and the facts ſhould be contradicted in ſucceeding pacquets; I do not ſee what plea you could offer to avoid the utmoſt penalty of the law, becauſe you are not ſuppoſed to be very gracious among thoſe who are moſt able to hurt you.

Beſides, as I take your intentions to be ſincerely meant for the public ſervice, ſo your original method of entertaining and inſtructing us will be more general and more uſeful in this ſeaſon of the year, when people are retired to amuſements more cool, more innocent, and much more reaſonable, than thoſe they have left; when their paſſions are ſubſided or ſuſpended; when they have no occaſions of inflaming themſelves, or each other: where they will have opportunities of hearing common ſenſe, every day in the week, from their tenants or neighbouring farmers, and thereby be qualified, in hours of rain or leiſure, to read and conſider the advice or information you ſhall ſend them.

Another weighty reaſon why you ſhould not alter your manner of writing, by dwindling to a news-monger, is becauſe there is no ſuſpenſion of arms agreed on between you and your adverſaries, who fight with a ſort of weapons which have two wonderful qualities, that they are never to be worn

out

out, and are beſt wielded by the weakeſt hands, and which the poverty of our language forceth me to call by the trite appellations of Scurrility, Slander, and Billingſgate. I am far from thinking that theſe gentlemen, or rather their employers (for the operators themſelves are too obſcure to be gueſſed at), ſhould be anſwered after their own way, although it were poſſible to drag them out of their obſcurity; but I wiſh you would enquire what real uſe ſuch a conduct is to the cauſe they have been ſo largely paid to defend. The author of the three firſt Occaſional Letters, a perſon altogether unknown, hath been thought to glance (for what reaſons he beſt knows) at ſome public proceedings, as if they were not agreeable to his private opinions. In anſwer to this, the pamphleteers retained on the other ſide are inſtructed by their ſuperiors, to ſingle out an adverſary whoſe abilities they moſt have reaſon to apprehend, and to load himſelf, his family, and friends, with all the infamy that a perpetual converſation in *Bridewell*, *Newgate*, and the ſtews, could furniſh them; but at the ſame time, ſo very unluckily, that the moſt diſtinguiſhing parts of their characters ſtrike directly in the face of their benefactor, whoſe idea, preſenting itſelf along with his guineas perpetually to their imagination, occaſioned this deſperate blunder.

But, allowing this heap of ſlander to be truth, and applied to the proper perſon; what is to be the conſequence? Are our public debts to be the ſooner paid; the corruptions that author complains of to be

be the ſooner cured; an honourable peace, or a glorious war, the more likely to enſue; trade to flouriſh; the *Oſtend* company to be demoliſhed; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* left entire in our poſſeſſion; the balance of *Europe* to be preſerved; the malignity of parties to be for ever at an end; none but perſons of merit, virtue, genius, and learning to be encouraged? I aſk whether any of theſe effects will follow upon the publication of this author's libel, even ſuppoſing he could prove every ſyllable of it to be true?

At the ſame time, I am well aſſured, that the only reaſon of aſcribing thoſe papers to a particular perſon, is built upon the information of a certain pragmatical ſpy of quality, well known to act in that capacity by thoſe into whoſe company he inſinuates himſelf; a ſort of perſons who, although without much love, eſteem, or dread of people in preſent power, yet have too much common prudence to ſpeak their thoughts with freedom before ſuch an intruder; who, therefore, impoſes groſsly upon his maſters, if he makes them pay for any thing but his own conjectures.

It is a grievous miſtake in a great miniſter to neglect or deſpiſe, much more to irritate, men of genius and learning. I have heard one of the wiſeſt perſons in my time obſerve, that an adminiſtration was to be known and judged by the talents of thoſe who appeared their advocates in print. This I muſt never allow to be a general rule; yet I cannot but think it prodigiouſly unfortunate, that, among the

the anſwerers, defenders, repliers, and panegyriſts, ſtarted up in defence of preſent perſons and proceedings, there hath not yet ariſen one whoſe labours we can read with patience, however we may applaud their loyalty and good-will. And all this with the advantages of conſtant ready pay, of natural and acquired venom, and a grant of the whole fund of ſlander, to range over and riot in as they pleaſe.

On the other ſide, a turbulent writer of Occaſional Letters, and other vexatious papers, in conjunction perhaps with one or two friends as bad as himſelf, is able to diſconcert, teaze, and ſour us whenever he thinks fit, merely by the ſtrength of genius and truth; and after ſo dextrous a manner, that, when we are vexed to the ſoul, and well know the reaſons why we are ſo, we are aſhamed to own the firſt, and cannot tell how to expreſs the other. In a word, it ſeems to me that all the writers are on one ſide, and all the railers on the other.

However, I do not pretend to aſſert, that it is impoſſible for an ill miniſter to find men of wit, who may be drawn, by a very valuable conſideration, to undertake his defence; but the misfortune is, that the heads of ſuch writers rebel againſt their hearts; their genius forſakes them, when they would offer to proſtitute it to the ſervice of injuſtice, corruption, party-rage, and falſe repreſentations of things and perſons.

And this is the beſt argument I can offer in defence of great men, who have been of late ſo very

unhappy

unhappy in the choice of their paper-champions: although I cannot much commend their good huſbandry, in thoſe exorbitant payments of twenty and ſixty guineas at a time for a ſcurvy pamphlet; ſince the ſort of work they require is what will all come within the talents of any one, who hath enjoyed the happineſs of a very bad education, hath kept the vileſt company, is endowed with a ſervile ſpirit, is maſter of an empty purſe, and a heart full of malice.

But, to ſpeak the truth in ſoberneſs; it ſhould ſeem a little hard, ſince the old Whiggiſh principle hath been recalled of ſtanding up for the liberty of the preſs, to a degree, that no man, for ſeveral years paſt, durſt venture out a thought which did not ſquare to a point with the maxims and practices that then prevailed: I ſay, it is a little hard that the vileſt mercenaries ſhould be countenanced, preferred, rewarded, for diſcharging their brutalities againſt men of honour, only upon a bare conjecture.

If it ſhould happen that theſe profligates have attacked an innocent perſon, I aſk what ſatisfaction can their hirers give in return? Not all the wealth raked together by the moſt corrupt rapacious miniſters, in the longeſt courſe of unlimited power, would be ſufficient to atone for the hundredth part of ſuch an injury.

In the common way of thinking, it is a ſituation ſufficient in all conſcience to ſatiſfy a reaſonable ambition, for a private perſon to command the laws, the

the forces, the revenues of a great kingdom, to reward and advance his followers and flatterers as he pleases, and to keep his enemies (real or imaginary) in the duſt. In ſuch an exaltation, why ſhould he be at the trouble to make uſe of fools to ſound his praiſes (becauſe I always thought the lion was hard ſet, when he choſe the aſs for his trumpeter) or knaves to revenge his quarrel, at the expence of innocent men's reputations?

With all thoſe advantages, I cannot ſee why perſons, in the height of power, ſhould be under the leaſt concern on account of their reputation, for which they have no manner of uſe; or to ruin that of others, which may perhaps be the only poſſeſſion their enemies have left them. Suppoſing times of corruption, which I am very far from doing, if a writer diſplays them in their proper colours, does he do any thing worſe than ſending cuſtomers to the ſhop? Here only, at the ſign of the *Brazen Head*, are to be ſold places and penſions: beware of counterfeits, and take care of miſtaking the door.

For my own part, I think it very unneceſſary to give the character of a great miniſter in the fulneſs of his power, becauſe it is a thing that naturally does itſelf, and is obvious to the eyes of all mankind; for his perſonal qualities are all derived into the moſt minute parts of his adminiſtration. If this be juſt, prudent, regular, impartial, intent upon the public good, prepared for preſent exigencies, and provident of the future; ſuch is the director himſelf in his private capacity: if it be rapacious, inſolent,

ſolent, partial, palliating long and deep diſeaſes of the publick with empirical remedies, falſe, diſguiſed, impudent, malicious, revengeful; you ſhall infallibly find the private life of the conductor to anſwer in every point, nay, what is more, every twinge of the gout or gravel will be felt in their conſequences by the community: as the thief-catcher, upon viewing a houſe broke open, could immediately diſtinguiſh, from the manner of the workmanſhip, by what hand it was done.

It is hard to form a maxim againſt which an exception is not ready to ſtart up: So, in the preſent caſe, where the miniſter grows enormouſly rich, the publick is proportionably poor; as, in a private family, the ſteward always thrives the faſteſt, when his lord is running out. * * * * * * * *
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OF

PUBLIC ABSURDITIES

IN ENGLAND.

IT is a common topick of fatire, which you will hear not only from the mouths of minifters of ftate, but of every whiffler in office, that half a dozen obfcure fellows, over a bottle of wine or a difh of coffee, fhall prefume to cenfure the actions of parliaments and councils, to form fchemes of government, and new-model the commonwealth; and this ufually ridiculed as a pragmatical difpofition to politicks, in the very nature and genius of the people. It may poffibly be true: and yet I am grofsly deceived if any fober man, of very moderate talents, when he reflects upon the many ridiculous hurtful maxims, cuftoms, and general rules of life, which prevail in this kingdom, would not with great reafon be tempted, according to the prefent turn of his humour, either to laugh, lament, or be angry; or, if he were fanguine enough, perhaps to dream of a remedy. It is the miftake of wife and good men, that they expect more reafon and virtue from human nature, than, taking it in the bulk, it is in any fort capable of. Whoever hath been prefent at councils or affemblies of any fort, if he be a man of common prudence, cannot but have obferved fuch refults and opinions to have frequently paffed a majority,

jority, as he wo[illegible]ld be aſhamed to advance in private converſat[illegible]on. I ſay noti[illegible]ng of cruelty, oppreſſion, injuſt[illegible], and the like, bec[illegible]uſe theſe are fairly t[illegible] be accounte[illegible] for in all aſſemblies, as beſt gratifying the paſſions [illegible]nd intereſts of leaders; which is a point of ſuch high conſideration, that all others muſt give place to it. But I would be underſtood here to ſpeak only of opinions ridiculous, fooliſh, and abſurd; with concluſions and actions ſuitable to them, at the ſame time, when the moſt reaſonable propoſitions are often unanimouſly rejected.

And, as all aſſemblies of men are liable to this accuſation, ſo likewiſe there are natural abſurdities from which the wiſeſt ſtates are not exempt, which proceed leſs from the nature of their climate than that of their government; the *Gauls*, the *Britons*, the *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, having retained very little of the characters given them in antient hiſtory.

By theſe and the like reflexions, I have been often led to conſider ſome public abſurdities in our own country, moſt of which are, in my opinion, directly againſt the rules of right reaſon, and are attended with great inconveniences to the ſtate. I ſhall mention ſuch of them as come into memory, without obſerving any method; and I ſhall give my reaſon why I take them to be abſurd in their nature, and pernicious in their conſequence.

It is abſurd that any perſon, who profeſſeth a different form of worſhip from that which is national, ſhould be truſted with a vote for electing members

members in the houſe of commons. Becauſe every man is full of zeal for his own religion, although he regards not morality; and, therefore, will endeavour to his utmoſt to bring in a repreſentative of his own principles, which, if they be popular, may endanger the religion eſtabliſhed; which, as it hath formerly happened, may alter the whole frame of government.

A ſtanding army in *England*, whether in time of peace or war, is a direct abſurdity. For it is no part of our buſineſs to be a warlike nation, otherwiſe than by our fleets. In foreign wars we have no concern, further than in conjunction with allies, whom we may either aſſiſt by ſea, or by foreign troops paid with our money. But mercenary troops in *England* can be of no uſe, except to awe ſenates, and thereby promote arbitrary power in a monarchy or oligarchy.

That the election of ſenators ſhould be of any charge to the candidates, is an abſurdity; but, that it ſhould be ſo to a miniſtry, is a manifeſt acknowledgment of the worſt deſigns. If a miniſtry intended the ſervice of their prince and country, or well underſtood wherein their own ſecurity beſt conſiſted (as it is impoſſible that a parliament freely elected, according to the original inſtitution, can do any hurt to a tolerable prince or tolerable miniſtry) they would uſe the ſtrongeſt methods to leave the people to their own free choice: the members would then conſiſt of perſons who had beſt eſtates in the neighbourhood or county, or at leaſt never of

ſtrangers.

ſtrangers. And ſurely this is at leaſt full as requiſite a circumſtance to a legiſlator, as to a juryman, who ought to be, if poſſible, *ex vicinio*; ſince ſuch perſons muſt be ſuppoſed the beſt judges of the wants and deſires of their ſeveral boroughs and counties. To chuſe a repreſentative for *Berwick*, whoſe eſtate is at *Land's End*, would have been thought in former times a very great ſoleciſm; how much more as it is at preſent, where ſo many perſons are returned for boroughs, who do not poſſeſs a foot of land in the kingdom?

By the old conſtitution, whoever poſſeſſed a freehold in land, by which he was a gainer of forty-ſhillings a year, had the privilege to vote for a knight of the ſhire. The good effects of this law are wholly eluded, partly by the courſe of time, and partly by corruption. Forty ſhillings in thoſe ages were equal to twenty pounds in ours; and therefore it was then a want of ſagacity to fix that privilege to a determinate ſum, rather than to a certain quantity of land, arable or paſture, able to produce a certain quantity of corn or hay. And therefore it is highly abſurd, and againſt the intent of the law, that this defect is not regulated.

But the matter is ſtill worſe; for any gentleman can, upon occaſion, make as many freeholders as his eſtate or ſettlement will allow, by making leaſes for life of land at a rack rent of forty ſhillings, where a tenant, who is not worth one farthing a year, when his rent is paid, ſhall be held a legal voter for a perſon to repreſent his county. Neither

do

do I enter into half the frauds that are practised upon this occasion.

It is likewise absurd, that boroughs decayed are not absolutely extinguished, because the returned members do in reality represent nobody at all; and that several large towns are not represented, though full of industrious townsmen, who much advance the trade of the kingdom.

The claim of senators, to have themselves and servants exempted from law-suits and arrests, is manifestly absurd. The proceedings at law are already so scandalous a grievance, upon account of the delays, that they little need any addition. Whoever is either not able, or not willing, to pay his just debts, or, to keep other men out of their lands, would evade the decision of the law, is surely but ill qualified to be a legislator. A criminal, with as good reason, might sit on the bench, with a power of condemning men to be hanged for their honesty. By the annual sitting of parliaments, and the days of privilege preceding and subsequent, a senator is one half of the year beyond the reach of common justice.

That the sacred person of a senator's footman shall be free from arrest, although he undoes the poor ale-wife by running on score, is a circumstance of equal wisdom and justice, to avoid the great evil of his master's lady wanting her compliment of liveries behind the coach.

SHORT REMARKS ON BISHOP BURNET's HISTORY.

THIS author is, in most particulars, the worst qualified for an historian that ever I met with. His style is rough, full of improprieties, in expressions often *Scotch*, and often such as are used by the meanest people. He discovers a great scarcity of words and phrases, by repeating the same several hundred times, for want of capacity to vary them. His observations are mean and trite, and very often false. His Secret History is generally made up of coffee-house scandals, or at best from reports at the third, or fourth, or fifth hand. The account of the pretender's birth, would only become an old woman in a chimney-corner. His vanity runs intolerably through the whole book, affecting to have been of consequence at nineteen years old, and while he was a little *Scotch* parson of 40 pounds a year. He was a gentleman born, and, in the time of his youth and vigour, drew in an old maiden daughter of a *Scotch* earl to marry him. His characters are miserably wrought, in many things mistaken, and all of them detracting, except of those who were friends to the presbyterians. That early love of liberty he boasts of is absolutely false; for

for the first book that, I believe, he ever published is an entire treatise in favour of passive obedience and absolute power; so that his reflexions on the clergy for asserting and then changing those principles, come very improperly from him. He is the most partial of all writers that ever pretended so much to impartiality; and yet I, who knew him well, am convinced that he is as impartial as he could possibly find in his heart; I am sure, more than I ever expected from him; particularly in his accounts of the Papist and Fanatic plots. This work may be more properly called *A History of* Scotland *during the author's time, with some digressions relating to* England, rather than deserve the title he gives it. For I believe two thirds of it relate only to that beggarly nation, and their insignificant brangles and factions. What he succeeds best in is, in giving extracts of arguments and debates in council or parliament. Nothing recommends his book but the recency of the facts he mentions, most of them being still in memory, especially the story of the Revolution; which, however, is not so well told as might be expected from one who affects to have had so considerable a share in it. After all, he was a man of generosity and good-nature, and very communicative; but, in his ten last years, was absolutely party-mad, and fancied he saw popery under every bush. He hath told me many passages not mentioned in this History, and many that are, but with several circumstances suppressed or altered. He never gives a good character without one essential

point, that the perſon was tender to diſſenters, and thought many things in the church ought to be amended.

Setting up for a maxim, Laying down for a maxim, Clapt up, Decency, and ſome other words and phraſes he uſes many hundred times.

Cut out for a Court, A pardoning planet, Clapt up, Left in the lurch, The Mob, Outed, A great beauty, Went roundly to work: All theſe phraſes, uſed by the vulgar, ſhew him to have kept mean or illiterate company in his youth.

A N

AN ABSTRACT OF THE HISTORY of ENGLAND,

From the Invasion of it by JULIUS CÆSAR to WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THE most antient account we have of *Britain* is, that the island was full of inhabitants, divided into several petty kingdoms, as most nations of the world appear to have been at first. The bodies of the *Britons* were painted with a sky-coloured blue, either as an ornament or else for terror to their enemies. In their religion they were Heathens, as all the world was before CHRIST, except the *Jews*.

Their priests were called Druids: these lived in hollow trees, and committed not their mysteries to writing, but delivered them down by tradition, whereby they were in time wholly lost.

The *Britons* had wives in common, so many to a particular tribe or society, and the children were in common to that society.

About fifty years before *Christ*, *Julius Cæsar*, the first *Roman* emperor, having conquered *Gaul* or *France*, invaded *Britain*, rather to increase his glo-ry

ry than conquests; for, having overcome the natives in one or two battles, he returned.

The next invasion of *Britain* by the *Romans* (then masters of most of the known world) was in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*; but it was not wholly subdued till that of *Nero*. It was governed by lieutenants, or deputies, sent from *Rome*, as *Ireland* is now by deputies from *England*, and continued thus under the *Romans* for about 460 years; till, that empire being invaded by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, the *Romans* were forced not only to recal their own armies, but also to draw from hence the bravest of the *Britons*, for their assistance against those Barbarians.

The *Roman* conquests in this island reached no further Northward than to that part of *Scotland* where *Stirling* and *Glasgow* are seated: The region beyond was held not worth the conquering: It was inhabited by a barbarous people, called *Caledonians* and *Picts*; who, being a rough fierce nation, daily infested the *British* borders. Therefore the emperor *Severus* built a wall, from *Stirling* to *Glasgow*, to prevent the invasions of the *Picts*: It is commonly called *The Picts Wall*.

These *Picts* and *Caledonians*, or *Scots*, encouraged by the departure of the *Romans*, do now cruelly infest and invade the *Britons* by sea and land: the *Britons* chuse *Vortigern* for their king, who was forced to invite the *Saxons* (a fierce Northern people) to assist him against those Barbarians. The *Saxons* came over,

A. D. 455.

and beat the *Picts* in ſeveral battles; but, at laſt, pick quarrels with the *Britons* themſelves; and, after a long war, drive them into the mountains of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, and eſtabliſh themſelves in ſeven kingdoms in *Britain* (by them now called *England*). The ſeven kingdoms are uſually ſtiled *the Saxon Heptarchy*.

About this time lived king *Arthur* A. D. 460.
(if the whole ſtory be not a fable)
who was ſo famous for beating the *Saxons* in ſeveral battles.

The *Britons* received Chriſtianity very early, and, as is reported, from ſome of the diſciples themſelves: ſo that, when the *Romans* left *Britain*, the *Britons* were generally Chriſtians. But the *Saxons* were Heathens, till pope *Gregory* the Great ſent over hither *Auſtin* the monk, by A. D. 600.
whom *Ethelbert* king of the *South-Saxons*, and his ſubjects, were converted to Chriſtianity; and the whole iſland ſoon followed the example.

After many various revolutions in this iſland among the kingdoms of the *Saxons*, *Egbert*, deſcended from the *Weſt-Saxon* kings, A. D. 800.
became ſole monarch of *England*.

The language in *Britain* was *Britiſh* (now called *Welſh*) or *Latin*; but, with the *Saxons*, *Engliſh* came in (although extremely different from what it is now). The preſent names of towns, ſhires, *&c.* were given by them; and the whole kingdom was called

called *England* from the *Angles*, who were a branch of the *Saxons*.

As ſoon as the *Saxons* were ſettled, the *Danes* began to trouble and invade them, as they (the *Saxons*) had before done the *Britons*.

Theſe *Danes* came out of *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, a rough warlike people, little different from the *Saxons*, to whom they were neighbours.

After many invaſions from the *Danes*, *Edgar* king of *England* ſets forth the firſt navy. He was entitled king of all *Albion* (an old name of this iſland), and was the firſt abſolute monarch. He made peace with the *Danes*, and allowed them to live in his dominions mixt with the *Engliſh*.

In this prince's time there were five kings in *Wales*, who all did him homage for their country.

Theſe *Danes* began firſt to make their invaſions here about the year 800, which they after renewed at ſeveral times, and under ſeveral leaders, and were as often repulſed. They uſed to come with vaſt numbers of ſhips, burn and ravage before them, as the cities of *London*, *Wincheſter*, &c. Encouraged by ſucceſs and prey, they often wintered in *England*, fortifying themſelves in the Northern parts, from whence they cruelly infeſted the *Saxon* kings. In proceſs of time, they mixed with the *Engliſh* (as was ſaid before) and lived under the *Saxon* government: but *Ethelred*, then king of *England*, growing weary of the *Daniſh* inſolence, a conſpiracy is formed.

A. D. 978.

formed, and the *Danes* maſſacred in one day all over *England*.

Four years after, *Sweyn* king of *Denmark*, to revenge the death of his ſubjects, invades *England*; and, after many battles fought and much cruelty exerciſed, he ſubdues the whole kingdom, forcing *Ethelred* to fly into *Normandy*.

Sweyn dying, his ſon *Canutus* ſucceeds in the kingdom; but, *Ethelred* returning with an army, *Canutus* is forced to withdraw to *Denmark* for ſuccour.

Ethelred dies, and his ſon *Edmond Ironſide* ſucceeds; but, *Canutus* returning with freſh forces from *Denmark*, after ſeveral battles, the kingdom is parted between them both. *Edmond* dying, his ſons are ſent beyond ſea by *Canutus*, who now is ſole king of *England*.

Hardicanute, the laſt *Daniſh* king, dying without iſſue, *Edward*, ſon of *Ethelred*, is choſen king. For his great holineſs, he was ſurnamed the Confeſſor, and ſainted after his death. He was the firſt of our princes that attempted to cure the king's evil by touching. He firſt introduced what is now called the Common Law. In his time began the mode and humour among the *Engliſh* gentry, of uſing the *French* tongue and faſhions, in compliance with the king, who had been bred up in *Normandy*.

The *Daniſh* government in *England* laſted but twenty-ſix years, under the three kings.

Edward

Edward the Confeffor married the daughter of earl *Godwin*, an *Englifh* nobleman of great power, but of *Danifh* extraction; but, wanting iffue, he appointed *Edgar Atheling*, grandfon to his brother, to fucceed him, and *Harold*, fon of earl *Godwin*, to be governor of the young prince. But, upon *Edward's* death, *Harold* neglected *Edgar Atheling*, and ufurped the crown for himfelf.

Edward, while he was in *Normandy*, met fo good reception, that it was faid he made a promife to that duke, that, in cafe he recovered his kingdom, and died without iffue, he would leave it to him. *Edward* dying, *William* duke of *Normandy* fends to *Harold* to claim the crown; but *Harold*, now in poffeffion, refolves to keep it. Upon which duke *William*, having prepared a mighty fleet and army, invades *England*, lands at *Haftings*, and fets fire to his fleet, to cut off all hope from his men of returning. To *Harold* he fent his meffenger, demanding the kingdom and his fubjection: but *Harold* returned him this anfwer, that, unlefs he departed his land, he would make him fenfible of his juft difpleafure. So *Harold* advanced his forces into *Suffex*, within feven miles of his enemy. The *Norman* duke, to fave the effufion of blood, fent thefe offers to *Harold*; either wholly to refign the kingdom to him, or to try the quarrel with him in fingle combat. To this *Harold* did not agree.

Then

Then the battle joined. The *Normans* had gotten the worst, if it had not been for a stratagem they invented, which got them the day. In this engagement *Harold* was killed, and *William* duke of *Normandy* became king of *England*, under the name of *William* the Conqueror. A. D. 1066.

A LET-

A
L E T T E R
TO A
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
IN IRELAND,
Upon chuſing a new SPEAKER there.

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

YOU may eaſily believe I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me, ſince it is but a confirmation of my own conjecture that I ſent you laſt week, and made you my reproaches upon at a venture. It looks exceeding ſtrange, yet I believe it to be a great truth, that, in order to carry a point in your houſe, the two following circumſtances are of great advantage: firſt, to have an ill cauſe; and, ſecondly, to be a minority. For both theſe circumſtances are extremely apt to invite men, to make them aſſiduous in their attendance, watchful of opportunities, zealous for gaining over proſelytes, and often ſucceſsful; which is not to be wondered at, when favour and intereſt are on the ſide of their opinion. Whereas, on the con-

trary.

trary, a majority with a good cause are negligent and supine: They think it sufficient to declare themselves upon opinion in favour of their party; but, sailing against the tide of favour and preferment, they are easily scattered and driven back. In short, they want a common principle to cement, and motive to spirit them. For the bare acting upon a principle from the dictates of a good conscience, or prospect of serving the publick, will not go very far under the present dispositions of mankind. This was amply verified last session of parliament, upon occasion of the money-bill, the merits of which I shall not pretend to examine. It is enough that, upon the first news of its transmission hither, in the form it afterwards appeared, the members, upon discourse with their friends, seemed unanimous against it, I mean those of both parties, except a few, who were looked upon as persons ready to go any lengths prescribed them by the court. Yet, with only a weak canvassing among a very few hands, the bill past, after a full debate, by a very great majority. Yet, I believe, you will hardly attempt persuading me, or any body else, that one man in ten, of those who changed their language, were moved by reasons any way affecting the merits of the cause, but merely through hope, fear, indolence, or good-manners. Nay, I have been assured from good hands, that there was still a number sufficient to make a majority against the bill, if they had not apprehended the other side to be secure, and there-fore

fore thought it imprudence, by declaring themſelves, to diſoblige the government to no purpoſe.

Reflecting upon this and forty other paſſages, in the ſeveral Houſes of Commons ſince the Revolution, makes me apt to think there is nothing a chief governor can be commanded to attempt here wherein he may not ſucceed, with a very competent ſhare of addreſs, and with ſuch aſſiſtance as he will always find ready at his devotion. And therefore I repeat what I ſaid at firſt, that I am not at all ſurpriſed at what you tell me. For, if there had been the leaſt ſpark of public ſpirit left, thoſe who wiſhed well to their country and its conſtitution in church and ſtate ſhould, upon the firſt news of the late ſpeaker's promotion (and you and I know it might have been done a great deal ſooner), have immediately gone together, and conſulted about the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed him. But, by all I can comprehend, you have been ſo far from proceeding thus, that it hardly ever came into any of your heads. And the reaſon you give is the worſt in the world: That none offered themſelves, and you knew not whom to pitch upon. It ſeems, however, the other party was more reſolved, or at leaſt not ſo modeſt: for you ſay, your vote is engaged againſt your opinion, and ſeveral gentlemen in my neighbourhood tell me the ſame ſtory of themſelves. This, I confeſs, is of an unuſual ſtrain, and a good many ſteps below any condeſcenſions a court will, I hope, ever require from you. I ſhall not trouble myſelf to enquire who is the

the perſon for whom you and others are engaged, or whether there be more candidates from that ſide than one. You tell me nothing of either; and I never thought it worth the queſtion to any body elſe. But, in ſo weighty an affair, and againſt your judgment, I cannot look upon you as irrevocably determined. Therefore I deſire you will give me leave to reaſon with you a little upon the ſubject, leſt your compliance, or inadvertency, ſhould put you upon what you may have cauſe to repent of as long as you live.

You know very well, the great buſineſs of the high-flying whigs, at this juncture, is to endeavour a repeal of the teſt-clauſe. You know likewiſe that the moderate men, both of high and low-church, profeſs to be wholly averſe from this deſign, as thinking it beneath the policy of common gardeners to cut down the only hedge that ſhelters from the North. Now, I will put the caſe: If the perſon to whom you have promiſed your vote be one of whom you have the leaſt apprehenſion that he will promote or aſſent to the repealing of that clauſe, whether it be decent or proper he ſhould be the mouth of an aſſembly, whereof a very great majority pretend to abhor his opinion? can a body, whoſe mouth and heart muſt go ſo contrary ways, ever act with ſincerity, or hardly with conſiſtence? Such a man is no proper vehicle to retain or convey the ſenſe of the houſe, which, in ſo many points of the greateſt moment, will be directly contrary to his. It is full as abſurd, as to

prefer

prefer a man to a bishoprick who denies revealed religion. But it may possibly be a great deal worse. What if the person you design to vote into that important post, should not only be a declared enemy of the sacramental test, but should prove to be a solicitor, an encourager, or even a penner of addresses to complain of it? Do you think it so indifferent a thing, that a promise of course, the effect of compliance, importunity, shame of refusing, or any the like motive, shall oblige you past the power of retracting?

Perhaps you will tell me, as some have already had the weakness, that it is of little importance to either party to have a speaker of their side, his business being only to take the sense of the house and report it; that you often, at committees, put an able speaker into the chair on purpose to prevent him from stopping a bill. Why, if it were no more than this; I believe I should hardly chuse, even among my footmen, such a one to deliver a message, whose interest and opinion led him to wish it might miscarry. But I remember to have heard colonel *Birch* of *Herefordshire* say, that he was a very sorry speaker, whose single vote was not better than fifty common ones. I am sure it is reckoned in *England* the first great test of the prevalency of either party in the house. Sir *Thomas Lyttleton* thought, that a house of commons with a stinking breath (supposing the speaker to be the mouth) would go near to infect every thing within the walls, and a great deal without. It is the smallest part

part of an able ſpeaker's buſineſs, what he performs in the houſe, at leaſt if he be in with the court, when it is hard to ſay how many converts may be made in a circle of dinners or private cabals. And you and I eaſily call to mind a gentleman in that ſtation, in *England*, who, by his own arts and perſonal credit, was able to draw over a majority; and change the whole power of a prevailing ſide in a nice juncture of affairs, and made a parliament expire in one party who had lived in another.

I am far from an inclination to multiply party-cauſes; but ſurely the beſt of us can with very ill grace make that an objection, who hath not been ſo nice in matters of much leſs importance. Yet I have heard ſome perſons of both ſides gravely deliver themſelves in this manner, Why ſhould we make the chuſing a ſpeaker a party-cauſe? Let us fix upon one who is well verſed in the practices and methods of parliament. And I believe, there are too many who would talk at the ſame rate, if the queſtion were not only about aboliſhing the ſacramental teſt, but the ſacrament itſelf.

But, ſuppoſe the principles of the moſt artful ſpeaker would have no influence either to obtain or obſtruct any point in parliament, who can anſwer what effects ſuch a choice may produce without doors? It is obvious how ſuch a matter ſerves to raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of the diſſenters, and their high-flying advocates, what lengths they run, what concluſions they form, and what hopes they entertain. Do they hear of a new friend in office? that

that is encouragement enough to practiſe the city, againſt the opinion of a majority, into an addreſs to the queen for repealing the ſacramental teſt; or iſſue out their orders to the next fanatic parſon to furbiſh up his old ſermons, and preach and print new ones directly againſt epiſcopacy. I would lay a good wager, that, if the choice of a new ſpeaker ſucceeds exactly to their liking, we ſhall ſee it ſoon followed by many new attempts, either in the form of pamphlet, ſermon, or addreſs, to the ſame or perhaps more dangerous purpoſes.

Suppoſing the ſpeaker's office to be only an employment of profit and honour, and a ſtep to a better; ſince it is in your own gift, will you not chuſe to beſtow it upon ſome perſon whoſe principles the majority of you pretends to approve, if it were only to be ſure of a worthy man hereafter in a high ſtation, on the bench, or at the bar?

I confeſs, if it were a thing poſſible to be compaſſed, it would ſeem moſt reaſonable to fill the chair with ſome perſon who would be entirely devoted to neither party: but, ſince there are ſo few of that character, and thoſe either unqualified or unfriended, I cannot ſee how a majority will anſwer it to their reputation, to be ſo ill provided of able perſons, that they muſt have recourſe for a leader to their adverſaries; a proceeding of which I never met with above one example, and even that ſucceeded but ill, though it was recommended by an oracle, which adviſed ſome city in *Greece* to beg a general from their enemies, who, in ſcorn, ſent

147 to 158 PAGES MISSING IN BOOK

It is another undisputed maxim in government, that people are the riches of a nation; which is so universally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it in doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that, if we had the *African* custom, or privilege, of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most unsupportable burthen, and bringing us money in the stead. But, in our present situation, at least five children in six who are born lie a dead weight upon us for want of employment. And a very skilful computer assured me, that above one half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery, whereof two thirds would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour: where that fails, the poorer native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This hath made me often wish, for some years past, that, instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the publick would rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals, whether papists or protestants, to *America*, as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities where a nation is overstocked. I confess myself to be touched with a very sensible pleasure, when I hear of a mortality in any country-parish or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin and two ridges of potatoes treble the worth, brought up to steal or beg, for want of work, to whom death would be the best thing to be

be wished for, on account both of themselves and the publick.

Among all taxes imposed by the legislature, those upon luxury are universally allowed to be the most equitable and beneficial to the subject; and the commonest reasoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the subject. Yet here again, by the singular fate of *Ireland*, this maxim is utterly false; and the putting of it in practice may have such a pernicious consequence, as, I certainly believe, the thoughts of the proposers were not able to reach.

The miseries we suffer by our absentees are of a far more extensive nature than seems to be commonly understood. I must vindicate myself to the reader so far, as to declare solemnly that what I shall say of those lords and squires, doth not arise from the least regard I have for their understandings, their virtues, or their persons. For, although I have not the honour of the least acquaintance with any one among them (my ambition not soaring so high), yet I am too good a witness of the situation they have been in for thirty years past, the veneration paid them by the people, the high esteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and distinction they receive from the court: the weight and consequence of their interest, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardships their country might suffer from *England*, wisely considering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the same bottom.

SENT

161 , 162 PAGES MISSING IN BOOK

I ſhall not preſume, Sir, to detain you with the narrative of the original and progreſs of the parliamentary accuſations and votes againſt me; altho', would you do me the honour to enquire, I could eaſily convince you, from my own particular caſe, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies, and one which never varies for either: one which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the ſubject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may ſay ſo) in the ſubject, and deſcribes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I ſhall beg of you is, to ſuſpend your judgment upon it, ſince all parties allow that, although I had ſeveral ſummons from the committee for *Monday*, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their ſummons, yet I was tied down by the committee the preceding *Saturday*, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithſtanding any thing I could urge to the contrary. This, I hope, I may ſay without injury to Mr. *Bingham*: for ſure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magiſtrate under the immediate direction of the lord chief-juſtice who takes examinations againſt him: examinations, that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent alſo.

It ſhall ſuffice therefore to ſay, I went from *Ireland* loaded with the ſevereſt cenſures of the houſe of commons: injured, as I thought, and oppreſſed to

to the greateſt degree imaginable, robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itſelf; and all that by an overbearing, overpowering intereſt.

I ſought, in *England*, for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me: my countrymen avoided me. The nature of man is ſociable: I was forced to herd with ſtrangers. A prime miniſter, engaged in the ſucceſs of a ſcheme, wants no emiſſaries to ſpy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately ſet by thoſe ſort of creatures: my ſentiments on the ſtate of our money-matters were induſtriouſly ſifted through me; and when that was done, before I knew any thing of the matter, I was ſerved with his majeſty's ſummons: in a hurry I ran out of town, and ſtaid in the country a while; but, on my return again, found another ſummons at my lodgings; and, terrified by the diſmal effects of power at home from riſking a ſecond ſhipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the *Cockpit*.

It is true my appearance at the *Cockpit*, to thoſe who knew me only by the votes of the houſe of commons, muſt have looked like a deſign of revenge; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions the worſt colour. But, to take the matter impartially, Sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the diſmal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehenſions of ſecond dangers? Is there no allowance

ance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all these fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated summons of the council of *England*, in which his majesty was present, and if he was there, after a long and strenuous opposition, forced to tell his sentiments, not in the manner represented to the world, but in a manner the most cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppose the inclinations of our parliament?

But, alas, the consequence! You, Sir, the defender of *Ireland*, were soon engaged against me on that account; and that fatal genius of yours, in an instant, ruined my character; but, even ruin-bearing as it was, I blessed it: the cause which you undertook was dear to me; and, though fame is the last thing which one would sacrifise even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleasure, whilst you thought it necessary for the public good so to do: but how the end is served, dear Sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato, being told that certain persons aspersed his character, and represented him abroad as a very ill man; instead of expostulating with his enemies and returning reproach for reproach, concealed himself, saying, *No matter, my friends; the whole life of Plato shall give his accusers the lie.*

Could I set before me a greater example? Under the general displeasure of my country, under all the censures which the restless malice of my enemies could devise, and under the keen edge of the Drapier's wit; the only revenge I indulged myself was, by

by a steady love for my country, and by manifest acts of affection thereto, to be a silent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, Sir, permit me in peace to take his great example; and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppress me. They have already gained their cause by you; but I must say, it was not the sword of *Ajax*, but the armour of *Achilles*, which he put on, that won the day.

The cause for which you undertook my ruin, was the cause of my country; it was a good cause, and you shall ever find me of that side. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But alas! as long as your works subsist, where-ever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain? It is a hard sentence; and yet, unless the spear of *Achilles*, the same instrument which gave the wound, administer the remedy, it must be so.

In short, Sir, you must be a man of honour: it is not possible that honour should be wanting where all the distinguishing characteristicks of it are found: I cannot doubt it; and therefore I will let you fully into a secret which accident has given you a part of; and I am sure you will keep it.

The source of all my misfortunes was the vote of the house of commons; but I have laboured however, as I always shall, to serve my country and make myself agreeable to them: and, though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private conversation of my countrymen, which is

is the ſureſt and beſt way to know our true intereſt; yet I flatter myſelf that my little Eſſays may be uſeful, at leaſt they may be no bad beginning: and you know it is eaſy to add to a work once begun. But, if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it uſeleſs to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's miſtake made me determine this private application to you: And I muſt ſay, that I ſhall reckon it no ſmall degree of honour, if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean time, I ſhall beg the favour of you, to keep a ſecret, which no other perſon but my printer, my bookſeller, and the bearer knows.

I am,

REVEREND SIR,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

JOHN BROWNE.

A
LETTER
ON
Mr. M'CULLA's Project about HALF-PENCE, and a new one proposed.
WRITTEN IN MDCCXXIX.

SIR,

YOU desire to know my opinion concerning Mr. *M'Culla's* project, of circulating notes ſtamped on copper, that ſhall paſs for the value of halfpence and pence. I have ſome knowledge of the man; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes: but I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time, I called at his houſe, where I diſcourſed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a ſtranger to his character. He talked to me in the uſual ſtyle, with a great profeſſion of zeal for the public good; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a firſt miniſter of ſtate down to a corncutter. But I ſtopped him ſhort, as I would have done a better man; becauſe it is too groſs a practice to paſs at any time, and eſpecially in this age, where we all know one another ſo well. Yet, whoever propoſeth any ſcheme, which may prove to be a

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public benefit, I ſhall not quarrel, if it prove likewiſe very beneficial to himſelf. It is certain, that, next to the want of ſilver, our greateſt diſtreſs in point of coin is the want of ſmall change, which may be ſome poor relief for the defect of the former, ſince the Crown will not pleaſe to take that work upon them here as they do in *England*. One thing in Mr. *M'Culla's* book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, braſs, iron, or any other material (except gold and ſilver), as well as upon paper. The queſtion is, whether I can ſue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor ſeal, nor witneſſes to prove it. To ſupply this, he hath propoſed, that the materials upon which this note is written ſhall be, in ſome degree, of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be enquired into. His ſcheme is this:

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, ſtampt with a promiſſory note to pay you twenty pence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you ſhall return them. Eight and forty of theſe halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound, and he ſells you that pound, coined and ſtamped, for two ſhillings; by which he clearly gains a little more than 16 *per cent*, that is to ſay, two pence in every ſhilling.

This will certainly ariſe to a great ſum, if he ſhould circulate as large a quantity of his notes as the kingdom, under the great dearth of ſilver, may very probably require: enough indeed to make any

Iriſh

Irish tradesman's fortune; which, however I should not repine at in the least, if we could be sure of his fair dealing. It was obvious for me to raise the common objection, why Mr. *M'Culla* would give security to pay the whole sum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my lord *Dartmouth* and colonel *Moor* were, by their patents, obliged to do. To which he gave me some answers plausible enough. First, he conceived his coins were much nearer to the intrinsic value than any of those coined by patents, the bulk and goodness of the metal equalling the best *English* halfpence made by the crown. That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and designing people, who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, since he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him which he could not be able to support. And, lastly, that, his copper, as is already said, being equal in value and bulk to the *English* halfpence, he did not apprehend they should ever be returned, unless a combination, proceeding from spite and envy, might be formed against him.

But there are some points in his proposal which I cannot well answer for; nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himself. The first is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the *English* halfpence and farthings? and, secondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good? and, thirdly, when he will think fit to stop his hand, and give us no more?

more? for I should be as sorry to be at the mercy of Mr. *M'Culla*, as of Mr. *Wood*.

There is another difficulty of the last importance. It is known enough that the crown is supposed to be neither gainer nor loser by coinage of any metal: for they subtract, or ought to subtract, no more from the intrinsic value than what will just pay the charges of the mint; and how much that will amount to is the question. By what I could gather from Mr. *M'Culla*, good copper is worth fourteen pence *per* pound. By this computation, if he sells his copper notes for two shillings the pound, and will pay twenty pence back, then the expence of coinage for one pound of copper must be six pence, which is 30 *per cent.* The world should be particularly satisfied on this article, before he vends notes; for the discount of 30 *per cent.* is prodigious, and vastly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the 16 *per cent.* which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a discount of about 46 *per cent.* Or, to reckon, I think, a fairer way; whoever buys a pound of Mr. *M'Culla's* coin, at two shillings *per* pound, carries home only the real value of fourteen pence, which is a pound of copper; and thus he is a loser of 41*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* *per cent.* But, however, this high discount of 30 *per cent.* will be no objection against *M'Culla's* proposal; because, if the charge of coinage will honestly amount to so much, and we suppose his copper notes may be returned upon him, he

he will be the greater sufferer of the two; because the buyer can lose but four pence in a pound, and *M'Culla* must lose six pence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are some points which must be settled to the general satisfaction, before we can safely take Mr. *M'Culla's* copper notes for value received; and how he will give that satisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The first point is, That we shall be always sure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineness to the best *English* halfpence.

The second point is, to know what allowance he makes to himself, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is easy by his own scheme; for, as I have said before, he proposes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two shillings, and receives it by the pound at twenty pence: so that, supposing pure copper to be fourteen pence a pound, he makes you pay 30 *per cent.* for the labour of coining, as I have already observed, besides 16 *per cent.* when he sells it. But, if to this he adds any alloy, to debase the metal, although it be not above 10 *per cent.* then Mr. *M'Culla's* promissory notes will, to the intrinsic value of the metal, be above 47 *per cent.* discount.

For, subtracting 10 *per cent.* off 60*l.* worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and

a half *per cent.* in the whole 100*l.* which, added

to — —	41	13	4
	5	10	0
will be *per cent.*	47	3	4

That we are under great diſtreſs for change, and that Mr. *M'Culla's* copper notes, on ſuppoſition of the metal being pure, are leſs liable to objection than the project of *Wood*, may be granted; but ſuch a diſcount, where we are not ſure even of our twenty pence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his ſcheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had ſome copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with thoſe of Mr. *M'Culla*, and obſerved as follows.

Firſt, I weighed Mr. *M'Culla's* halfpenny againſt an *Engliſh* one of King *Charles* II. which outweighed Mr. *M'Culla's* a fourth part, or 25 *per cent.*

I likewiſe weighed an *Iriſh Patrick* and *David* halfpenny, which outweighed Mr. *M'Culla's* 12 ½ *per cent.* It had a very deep impreſſion, and milled very ſkilfully round.

I found that even a common *Harp* halfpenny, well preſerved, weighed equal to Mr. *M'Culla's*. And even ſome of *Wood's* halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think *Wood's* copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid theſe looſe thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them,

them, an opportunity of digesting them better. I am no enemy to Mr. *M'Culla's* project, but I would have it put upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of king *Charles* II. which I weighed against Mr. *M'Culla's*, was of the fairest kind I had seen. However, it is plain the crown could afford it without being a loser. But it is probable that the officers of the mint were then more honest than they have since thought fit to be; for I confess not to have met those of any other year so weighty, or in appearance of so good metal, among all the copper coins of the three last reigns; yet these, however, did much outweigh those of Mr. *M'Culla*; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed seen accidentally *one or two* very light, but it must certainly have been done by chance, or rather I suppose them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at present. I am ignorant of the price, further than by his informing me that it is only fourteen pence a pound; by which, I observe, he charges the coinage at 30 *per cent*. And therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, *to say* the truth, the dearness or cheapness of the metal do not properly enter into the question. What we desire is, that it should be of the best kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver should be reduced from 16 to 8 *per cent*. and the charge of coinage, if possible, from 30 to 10, or 15 at most.

Mr.

Mr. *M'Culla* must also give good security that he will coin only a determinate sum, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds; by which, although he should deal with all uprightness imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of king *Charles* II; he will, at 16 *per cent.* gain three thousand two hundred pounds: a very good additional job to a private tradesman's fortune.

I must advise him also to employ better workmen, and make his impressions deeper and plainer, by which a rising rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preserve the letter from wearing out too soon. He hath no wardens, or masters, or other officers of the mint, to suck up his profit; and, therefore, can afford to coin cheaper than the crown, if he will but find good materials, proper implements, and skilful workmen.

Whether this project will succeed in Mr. *M'Culla's* hands (which, if it be honestly executed, I should be glad to see); one thing I am confident of, that it might be easily brought to perfection by a society of nine or ten honest gentlemen of fortune, who wish well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor losers, further than the bare interest of their money. And Mr. *M'Culla*, as being the first starter of the scheme, might be considered and rewarded by such a society; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I should think it an honour and happiness to be one, even with borrowed money upon the best security I could give. And, first, I am confident, without any skill but by general

general reaſon, that the charge of coining copper would be very much leſs than 30 *per cent.* Secondly, I believe ten thouſand pounds, in halfpence and farthings, would be ſufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and moſt *unneceſſary diſtreſs* for the want of ſilver; and that, without ſuch a diſtreſs, half the ſum would ſuffice.

For I compute and reaſon thus: the city of *Dublin*, by a groſs computation, contains ten thouſand families; and I am told by ſhopkeepers, that, if ſilver were as plenty as uſual, two ſhillings in copper would be ſufficient, in the courſe of buſineſs, for each family; but, in conſideration of the want of ſilver, I would allow five ſhillings to each family, which would amount to 2,500*l.*; and, to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced *Harp* halfpence, which are left of lord *Dartmouth*'s and *Moor's* patents under K. *Charles* II; and the ſmall *Patrick* and *David* for farthings. To the reſt of the kingdom, I would aſſign the 7,500*l.* remaining; reckoning *Dublin* to anſwer one fourth of the kingdom, as *London* is judged to anſwer (if I miſtake not) one third of *England*; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of ſmall change by the number of ſouls in the kingdom, beſides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means juſt. They have been reckoned at a million and a half, whereof a million at leaſt are beggars, in all circumſtances except that of wandering about for alms, and that circumſtance

circumſtance may arrive ſoon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thouſand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of *Ireland*, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting ſmall change, cannot be above forty or fifty thouſand; which the ſum of ten thouſand pounds, with the addition of the faireſt old halfpence, would tolerably ſupply. For, if we give too great a looſe to any projector to pour in upon us what he pleaſes, the kingdom will be (how ſhall I expreſs it under our preſent circumſtances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very ſtrong light, the villany of *Wood*, who propoſed the coinage of one hundred and eighty thouſand pounds in copper, for the uſe of *Ireland*; whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaded with ten or a dozen ſhillings, although *Wood* might not tranſgreſs the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill-informed are great men on the other ſide, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half a crown.

But, to return to the propoſal I have made: ſuppoſe ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, ſhould raiſe 200*l.* apiece; and, from the time the money is depoſited as they ſhall agree, ſhould begin to charge it with ſeven *per cent.* for their own uſe: that they ſhould, as ſoon as poſſible, provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper ſufficient for coining two thouſand pounds, ſubtracting a fifth part

part of the intereſt of ten thouſand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the ſame intereſt to be ſubtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000*l.* each, with a juſt allowance for other neceſſary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply ſtamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can conſiſt to have it rightly coined (wherein I am wholly ignorant) and the bulk as large as that of king *Charles* II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint ſecurity to receive all the coins they iſſue out for ſeven or ten years, and return gold and ſilver without any defalcation.

Let the ſame club or company, when they have iſſued out the firſt two thouſand pounds, go on the ſecond year, if they find a demand, and that their ſcheme hath anſwered to their own intention as well as to the ſatisfaction of the publick. And, if they find ſeven *per cent.* not ſufficient, let them ſubtract eight, beyond which I would not have them go. And when they have, in two years, coined ten thouſand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but ſhut up their mint, and diſmiſs their workmen; unleſs the real, univerſal, unſolicited declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom ſhall ſignify a deſire that they ſhould go on for a certain ſum farther.

This

This company may enter into certain regulations among themſelves, one of which ſhould be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loſs of intrinſic value in the coinage of 10,000*l.* in copper, under the management of ſuch a ſociety of gentlemen.

Firſt, It is plain, that, inſtead of ſomewhat more than 16 *per cent.* as demanded by Mr. *M'Culla*, this ſociety deſires but 8 *per cent.*

Secondly, Whereas Mr. *M'Culla* charges the expence of coinage at 30 *per cent.* I hope and believe this ſociety will be able to perform it at 10.

Thirdly, Whereas it doth not appear that Mr. *M'Culla* can give any ſecurity for the goodneſs of his copper, becauſe not one ten thouſand have the ſkill to diſtinguiſh; the ſociety will be all engaged that theirs ſhall be of the beſt ſtandard.

Fourthly, That, whereas Mr. *M'Culla's* halfpence are one fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of king *Charles* II. theſe gentlemen will oblige themſelves to the publick, to give the coin of the ſame weight and goodneſs with thoſe halfpence, unleſs they ſhall find they cannot afford it; and, in that caſe, they ſhall beforehand inform the publick, ſhew their reaſons, and ſignify how large they can make them without being loſers; and ſo give over or purſue their ſcheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do

do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the best *English* halfpence that have been coined in the three last reigns, which very much outweigh those of Mr. *M'Culla*. And this advantage will arise in proportion, by lessening the charge of coinage from 30 *per cent.* to 10 or 15, or 20 at most. But I confess myself in the dark on that article; only I think it impossible it should amount to any proportion near 30 *per cent.* otherwise the coiners of those counterfeit halfpence, called *Raps*, would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages, by having the management in such a society, would be the paying 8 *per cent.* instead of 16, the being sure of the goodness and just weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any further coinage than what was absolutely necessary to supply the wants and desires of the kingdom: and all this under the security of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the best security and satisfaction, that they had no design to turn the scheme into a job.

As to any mistakes I have made in computation, they are of little moment; and I shall not descend so low as to justify them against any caviller.

The strongest objections against what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear visionary, is the difficulty to find half a score gentlemen, who, out of a public spirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one *per cent.* above the legal interest, to be overseers of a mint for five years; and perhaps,

perhaps, without any juſtice, raiſe the clamour of the people againſt them. Beſides, it is moſt certain that many a ſquire is as fond of a job, and as dextrous to make the beſt of it, as Mr. *M'Culla* himſelf, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten ſuch perſons in this town; if they had only ſome viſible mark to know them at ſight. Yet I juſt foreſee another inconveniency: that knaviſh men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination; while thoſe who are honeſt and beſt intentioned may be the inſtruments of as much miſchief to the publick, for want of cunning, as the greateſt knaves; and more, becauſe of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the ſerpent with the innocency of the dove in this affair, is the moſt difficult point. It is not ſo hard to find an honeſt man, as to make this honeſt man active, and vigilant, and ſkilful; which, I doubt, will require a ſpur of profit greater than my ſcheme will afford him, unleſs he will be contented with the honour of ſerving his country, and the reward of a good conſcience.

After reviewing what I had written, I ſee very well that I have not given any allowance for the firſt charge of preparing all things neceſſary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200*l.* beſides 20*l.* *per annum* for five years rent of a houſe to work in. I can only ſay, that, this making in all 300*l.* it will be an addition of no more than 3 *per cent.* out of 10,000*l.* But

But the great advantages to the publick, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen, ſuch as I have already deſcribed (if ſuch are to be found), are theſe:

Firſt, They propoſe no other gain to themſelves than 1 *per cent.* above the legal intereſt for the money they advance; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-houſe.

Secondly, They bind themſelves to make their coins of as good copper as the beſt *Engliſh* halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight: and do likewiſe bind themſelves to charge the publick with not one farthing for the expence of coinage, more than it ſhall really ſtand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of ſeven or ten years, as ſhall be thought proper upon mature conſideration, pay gold and ſilver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that ſhall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins ſhall have a deep impreſſion, leaving a riſing rim on both ſides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time; and the edges ſhall be milled.

I ſuppoſe they need not be very apprehenſive of counterfeits, which will be difficult to make ſo as not be diſcovered: for it is plain that thoſe bad halfpence, called *Raps*, are ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed, even from the moſt worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will take them for a farthing, although under the great preſent want of change.

I ſhall

I ſhall here ſubjoin ſome computations relating to Mr. *M'Culla's* copper notes. They were ſent to me by a perſon well ſkilled in ſuch calculations: and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr. *M'Culla* charges good copper at fourteen pence *per* pound, but I know not whether he means Avoirdupois or Troy weight.

Avoirdupois is 16 oz. to a lb. -	6960 grains.
A pound Troy weight. — —	5760 grains.

Mr. *M'Culla's* copper is fourteen pence *per* pound Avoirdupois.

Two of Mr. *M'Culla's* penny-notes, one with another, weigh — — — —	524 grains.
By which computation, 2*s.* of his notes, which he ſells for 1 lb. weight, will weigh — —	6288 grains.
But one lb. Avoirdupois weighs, as above, — — — —	6960 grains.

This difference makes 10 *per cent.* to Mr. *M'Culla's* profit, in point of weight.

The old *Patrick* and *David* half-penny weighs — — —	149 grains.
Mr. *M'Culla's* half penny weighs	131 grains.
The difference is	18

Which is equal to 10 ½ *per cent.*

The *Engliſh* halfpenny of king *Charles* II. weighs — —	167 grains.
M'Culla's halfpenny weighs —	131 grains.
The difference	36

Which

Which difference allowed, a fifth part is 20 *per cent.*

Another Computation.

Mr. *M'Culla* allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth twenty pence, for which he demands two shillings.

His coinage he computes at six pence *per* pound weight; therefore, laying out only twenty pence, and gaining four pence, he makes *per cent.* profit — — — — — — 20

The six pence *per* pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes *per cent.* — — 30

The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is *per cent.* — — 10

By all which, (*viz.* coinage, profit, and want of weight) the publick loses *per cent.* — — — — 60

If Mr. *M'Culla's* coins will not pass, and he refuses to receive them back, the owner cannot sell them at above twelve pence *per* pound, whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 *per cent.* he will lose 60 *per cent.*

The scheme of the society raised as high as it can possibly be, will be only thus:

For interest of their money, *per cent.* — 8

For coinage, instead of 10, suppose, at most, *per cent.* — — — — 20

For 300*l.* laid out for tools, a mint, and house rent, charge 3 *per cent.* upon the coinage of 10,000*l.* — — — 3

Charges in all upon interest, coinage, &c. *per cent.* 31

Which,

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned, of the goodneſs of the metal, the largeneſs of the coin, the deepneſs and fairneſs of the impreſſion, the aſſurance of the ſociety confining itſelf to ſuch a ſum as they undertake, or as the kingdom ſhall approve; and, laſtly, their paying in gold or ſilver for all their coin returned upon their hands, without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom; and, with a little ſteadineſs and activity, could, I doubt not, be eaſily compaſſed.

I would not in this ſcheme recommend the method of promiſſory notes, after Mr. *McCulla's* manner; but, as I have ſeen in old *Iriſh* coins, the words CIVITAS DUBLIN on one ſide, with the year of our Lord, and the *Iriſh Harp*, on the reverſe.

DOING

DOING GOOD:

A

SERMON.

On the Occasion of WOOD's PROJECT.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIV.

GALATIANS vi. 10.

As we have therefore opportunity, let us do Good unto all men.

NATURE directs every one of us, and God permits us, to consult our own private good before the private good of any other person whatsoever. We are, indeed, commanded to love our neighbour as ourselves, but not as well as ourselves. The love we have for ourselves is to be the pattern of that love we ought to have toward our neighbour: but, as the copy doth not equal the original, so my neighbour cannot think it hard, if I prefer myself, who am the original, before him, who is only the copy. Thus, if any matter equally concern the life, the reputation, the profit of my neighbour, and my own; the law of nature, which is the law of God, obligeth me to take care of myself first, and afterwards of him. And this I need not be at much pains in persuading you to; for the

want

want of ſelf-love, with regard to things of this world, is not among the faults of mankind. But then, on the other ſide, if, by a ſmall hurt and loſs to myſelf, I can procure a great good to my neighbour, in that caſe his intereſt is to be preferred. For example, if I can be ſure of ſaving his life, without great danger to my own; if I can preſerve him from being undone without ruining myſelf, or recover his reputation without blaſting mine; all this I am obliged to do: and, if I ſincerely perform it, I do then obey the command of God, in loving my neighbour as myſelf.

But, beſide this love we owe to every man in his particular capacity under the title of our neighbour, there is yet a duty of a more large extenſive nature incumbent on us; which is, our love to our neighbour in his public capacity, as he is a member of that great body the common-wealth, under the ſame government with ourſelves; and this is uſually called love of the publick, and is a duty to which we are more ſtrictly obliged than even that of loving ourſelves; becauſe therein ourſelves are alſo contained, as well as all our neighbours, in one great body. This love of the publick, or of the commonwealth, or love of our country, was in antient times properly know by the name of *Virtue*, becauſe it was the grerteſt of all virtues, and was ſuppoſed to contain all virtues in it: and many great examples of this virtue are left to us on record, ſcarcely to be believed, or even conceived, in ſuch a baſe, corrupted, wicked age as this we live in.

In

In thoſe times, it was common for men to ſacriſiſe their lives for the good of their country, although they had neither hope nor belief of future rewards; whereas, in our days, very few make the leaſt ſcruple of ſacrifiſing a whole nation, as well as their own ſouls, for a little preſent gain; which often hath been known to end in their own ruin in this world, as it certainly muſt in that to come.

Have we not ſeen men, for the ſake of ſome petty employment, give up the very natural rights and liberties of their country and of mankind, in the ruin of which themſelves muſt at laſt be involved? Are not theſe corruptions gotten among the meaneſt of our people, who, for a piece of mony, will give their votes at a venture, for the diſpoſal of their own lives and fortunes, without conſidering whether it be to thoſe who are moſt likely to betray or defend them?

But, if I were to produce only one inſtance of a hundred wherein we fail in this duty of loving our country, it would be an endleſs labour; and therefore I ſhall not attempt it.

But here I would not be miſunderſtood: by the love of our country, I do not mean loyalty to our king, for that is a duty of another nature; and a man may be very loyal, in the common ſenſe of the word, without one grain of public good at his heart. Witneſs this very kingdom we live in. I verily believe, that, ſince the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever ſhewed (all circumſtances conſidered) ſuch high conſtant marks of loyalty,

loyalty, in all their actions and behaviour, as we have done: and, at the same time, no people ever appeared more utterly void of what is called a Public Spirit. When I say the people, I mean the bulk or mass of the people, for I have nothing to do with those in power.

Therefore I shall think my time not ill spent, if I can persuade most or all of you who hear me, to shew the love you have for your country, by endeavouring, in your several stations, to do all the public good you are able. For I am certainly persuaded, that all our misfortunes arise from no other original cause than that general disregard among us to the public welfare.

I therefore undertake to shew you three things.

First, That there are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the publick.

Secondly, That it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the public.

And *lastly*, That all wilful injuries done to the publick are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, There are few people so weak or mean, who have it not sometimes in their power to be useful to the publick.

Solomon tells us of a poor wise man, who saved a city by his counsel. It hath often happened that a private soldier, by some unexpected brave attempt, hath been instrumental in obtaining a great victory. How many obscure men have been authors of

very

very useful inventions, whereof the world now reaps the benifit? The very example of honesty and industry in a poor tradesman will sometimes spread through a neighbourhood, when others see how successful he is; and thus so many useful members are gained, for which the whole body of the publick is the better. Whoever is blessed with a true public spirit, God will certainly put it into his way to make use of that blessing, for the ends it was given him, by some means or other: and therefore it hath been observed, in most ages, that the greatest actions, for the benefit of the commonwealth, have been performed by the wisdom or courage, the contrivance or industry, of particular men, and not of numbers; and that the safety of a kingdom hath often been owing to those hands from whence it was least expected.

But, *secondly*, it is often in the power of the meanest among mankind to do mischief to the publick: and hence arise most of those miseries with which the states and kingdoms of the earth are infested. How many great princes have been murdered by the meanest ruffians! The weakest hand can open a flood-gate to drown a country, which a thousand of the strongest cannot stop. Those who have thrown off all regard for public good, will often have it in their way to do public evil, and will not fail to exercise that power whenever they can. The greatest blow given of late to this kingdom, was by the dishonesty of a few manufacturers; who, by imposing bad ware at foreign markets,

kets, in almost the only traffick permitted to us, did half ruin that trade; by which this poor unhappy kingdom now suffers in the midst of sufferings. I speak not here of persons in high stations, who ought to be free from all reflexion, and are supposed always to intend the welfare of the community: but we now find, by experience, that the meanest instrument may, by the concurrence of accidents, have it in his power to bring a whole kingdom to the very brink of destruction, and is at this present endeavouring to finish his work; and hath agents among ourselves, who are contented to see their own country undone, to be small sharers in that iniquitous gain, which at last must end in their own ruin as well as ours. I confess, it was chiefly the consideration of that great danger we are in, which engaged me to discourse to you on this subject, to exhort you to a love of your country, and a public spirit, when all you have is at stake; to prefer the interest of your prince and your fellow subjects before that of one destructive impostor, and a few of his adherents.

Perhaps it may be thought by some, that this way of discoursing is not so proper from the pulpit. But surely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poorhouse, to deprive us of all means to exercise hospitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a desert for wild beasts and robbers, to destroy all arts and sciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the

the ground, only to enrich one obſcure ill-deſigning projector and his followers; it is time for the paſtor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to ſtand together, and all to conſult the common ſafety. And God be praiſed for his infinite goodneſs in raiſing ſuch a ſpirit of union among us, at leaſt in this point, in the midſt of all our former diviſions; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious deſign of this peſtilent enemy to the nation.

But, from hence, it clearly follows how neceſſary the love of our country, or a public ſpirit, is in every particular man, ſince the wicked have ſo many opportunities of doing public miſchief. Every man is upon his own guard for his private advantage; but, where the publick is concerned, he is apt to be negligent, conſidering himſelf only as one among two or three millions, among whom the loſs is equally ſhared, and thus, he thinks, he can be no great ſufferer. Mean while the trader, the farmer, and the ſhop-keeper, complain of the hardneſs and deadneſs of the times, and wonder whence it comes; while it is, in a great meaſure, owing to their own folly, for want of that love of their country, and public ſpirit and firm union among themſelves, which are ſo neceſſary to the proſperity of every nation.

Another method, by which the meaneſt wicked man may have it in his power to injure the publick, is falſe accuſation, whereof this kingdom hath afforded

forded too many examples: neither is it long since no man, whose opinions were thought to differ from those in fashion, could safely converse beyond his nearest friends, for fear of being sworn against, as a traitor, by those who made a traffick of perjury and subornation; by which the very peace of the nation was disturbed, and men fled from each other as they would from a lion or a bear got loose. And it is very remarkable, that the pernicious project now in hand, to reduce us to beggary, was forwarded by one of these false accusers, who had been convicted of endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the lives of several innocent persons here among us: and, indeed, there could not be a more proper instrument for such a work.

Another method by which the meanest people may do injury to the publick, is the spreading of lies and false rumours, thus raising a distrust among the people of a nation, causing them to mistake their true interest, and their enemies for their friends: and this hath been likewise too successful a practice among us, where we have known the whole kingdom misled by the grossest lies, raised upon occasion to serve some particular turn. As it hath also happened in the case I lately mentioned, where one obscure man, by representing our wants where they were least and concealing them where they were greatest, had almost succeeded in a project of utterly ruining this whole kingdom; and may still succeed, if God doth not continue that

that public ſpirit, which he hath almoſt miraculouſly kindled in us upon this occaſion.'

Thus we ſee the publick is many times, as it were, at the mercy of the meaneſt inſtrument, who can be wicked enough to watch opportunities of doing it miſchief, upon the principles of avarice or malice; which, I am afraid, are deeply rooted in too many breaſts, and againſt which there can be no defence, but a firm reſolution in all honeſt men, to be cloſely united and active in ſhewing their love to their country, by preferring the public intereſt to their preſent private advantage. If a paſſenger, in a great ſtorm at ſea, ſhould hide his goods that they might not be thrown over board to lighten the ſhip, what would be the conſequence? The ſhip is caſt away, and he loſes his life and goods together.

We have heard of men, who, through greedineſs of gain, have brought infected goods into a nation, which bred a plague, whereof the owners and their families periſhed firſt. Let thoſe among us conſider this and tremble, whoſe houſes are privately ſtored with thoſe materials of beggary and deſolation, lately brought over to be ſcattered like a peſtilence among their countrymen, which may probably firſt ſeize upon themſelves and their families, until their houſes ſhall be made a dunghill.

I ſhall mention one practice more, by which the meaneſt inſtruments often ſucceed in doing public miſchief; and this is by deceiving us with plauſible arguments, to make us believe that the moſt

ruinous project they can offer is intended for our good, as it happened in the case so often mentioned. For the poor ignorant people, allured by the appearing convenience in their small dealings, did not discover the serpent in the brass, but were ready, like the *Israelites*, to offer incense to it; neither could the wisdom of the nation convince them, until some, of good intentions, made the cheat so plain to their sight, that those who run may read. And thus the design was to treat us, in every point, as the *Philistines* treated *Samson* (I mean when he was betrayed by *Dalilah*), first to put out our eyes, and then bind us with fetters of brass.

I proceed to the last thing I proposed, which was, to shew you that all wilful injuries done to the publick, are very great and aggravated sins in the sight of God.

First, It is apparent from Scripture, and most agreeable to reason, that the safety and welfare of nations are under the most peculiar care of God's providence. Thus he promised *Abraham* to save *Sodom*, if only ten righteous men could be found in it. Thus the reason which God gave to *Jonas* for not destroying *Nineveh* was, because there were six score thousand men in that city.

All government is from God, who is the God of order; and therefore whoever attempts to breed confusion or disturbance among a people, doth his utmost to take the government of the world out of God's hands, and to put it into the hands of the

 devil,

devil, who is the author of confusion. By which it is plain, that no crime, how heinous soever, committed against particular persons, can equal the guilt of him who does injury to the publick.

Secondly, All offenders against their country lie under this grievous difficulty, that it is impossible to obtain a pardon, or make restitution. The bulk of mankind are very quick at resenting injuries, and very slow in forgiving them: and how shall one man be able to obtain the pardon of millions, or repair the injuries he hath done to millions? how shall those, who, by a most destructive fraud, got the whole wealth of our neighbouring kingdom into their hands, be ever able to make a recompence? how will the authors and promoters of that villainous project, for the ruin of this poor country, be able to account with us for the injuries they have already done, although they should no farther succeed? The deplorable case of such wretches must entirely be left to the unfathomable mercies of God: for those who know the least in religion are not ignorant that, without our utmost endeavours to make restitution to the person injured, and to obtain his pardon, added to a sincere repentance, there is no hope of salvation given in the Gospel.

Lastly, All offences against our own country have this aggravation, that they are ungrateful and unnatural. It is to our country we owe those laws, which protect us in our lives, our liberties, our properties, and our religion. Our country produced

duced us into the world, and continues to nouriſh us, ſo that it is uſually called our mother; and there have been examples of great magiſtrates, who have put their own children to death for endeavouring to betray their country, as if they had attempted the life of their natural parent.

Thus I have briefly ſhewn you how terrible a ſin it is to be an enemy to our country, in order to incite you to the contrary virtue, which at this juncture is ſo highly neceſſary, when every man's endeavour will be of uſe. We have hitherto been juſt able to ſupport ourſelves under many hardſhips; but now the axe is laid to the root of the tree, and nothing but a firm union among us can prevent our utter undoing. This we are obliged to, in duty to our gracious king, as well as to ourſelves. Let us therefore preſerve that public ſpirit, which God hath raiſed in us for our own temporal intereſt. For, if this wicked project ſhould ſucceed, which it cannot do but by our own folly; if we ſell ourſelves for nought, the merchant, the ſhop-keeper, the artificer, muſt fly to the deſart with their miſerable families, there to ſtarve or live upon rapine, or at leaſt exchange their country for one more hoſpitable than that where they were born.

Thus much I thought it my duty to ſay to you, who are under my care, to warn you againſt thoſe temporal evils, which may draw the worſt of ſpiritual evils after them; ſuch as heart-burnings, murmurings, diſcontents, and all manner of wickedneſs

neſs which a deſperate condition of life may tempt men to.

I am ſenſible that what I have now ſaid will not go very far, being confined to this aſſembly; but I hope it may ſtir up others of my brethren to exhort their ſeveral congregations, after a more effectual manner, to ſhew their love for their country on this important occaſion. And this, I am ſure, cannot be called meddling in affairs of ſtate.

I pray God protect his moſt gracious majeſty, and this kingdom, long under his government, and defend us from all ruinous projectors, deceivers, ſuborners, perjurers, falſe accuſers, and oppreſſors; from the virulence of party and faction; and unite us in loyalty to our king, love to our country, and charity to each other. And this we beg, for *Jeſus Chriſt* his ſake: To whom, &c.

A PROPOSAL THAT All the LADIES and WOMEN of IRELAND should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures.

Written in the Year 1729.

THERE was a treatise written about nine years ago, to persuade the people of *Ireland* to wear their own manufactures [c]. This treatise was allowed to have not one syllable in it of party or disaffection; but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occasioned by the utter want of trade, except the ruinous importation of all foreign extravagancies from other countries. This treatise was presented, by the Grand-jury of the city and county of *Dublin*, as a scandalous, seditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city grand-jury; but the foreman for the county was one Dr. *Seal*, register to the archbishop of *Dublin*, wherein he differed much from the sentiments of his lord. The printer was tried before the late Mr. *Whitshed*, that

[c] See Vol. X. p. 1.

famous lord chief-justice; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared, upon his salvation, that the author was a *Jacobite*, and had a design to beget a quarrel between the two nations. In the midst of this prosecution, about 1500 weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which just served to make them drunk for a week; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or strolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The duke of *Grafton*, who was then lieutenant, being perfectly ashamed of so infamous and unpopular a proceeding, obtained from *England* a *noli prosequi* for the printer. Yet the grand-jury had solemn thanks given them from the secretary of state.

I mention this passage (perhaps too much forgotten) to shew how dangerous it hath been for the best-meaning person to write one syllable in the defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in.

And, to prove this truth, I will produce one instance more; wholly omitting the famous cause of the *Drapier*, and the proclamation against him, as well as the perverseness of another jury against the same Mr. *Whitshed*, who was violently bent to act the second part in another scene.

About two years ago, there was a small paper printed, which was called, *A Short View of the State of Ireland* [d], relating to the several causes where-

[d] See Vol. X. p. 214.

by

by any country may grow rich, and applying them to *Ireland.* *Whitſhed* was dead, and conſequently the printer was not troubled. *Miſt*, the famous journaliſt, happened to re-print this paper in *London*, for which his preſs-folks were proſecuted for almoſt a twelvemonth; and, for aught I know, are not yet diſcharged.

This is our caſe; inſomuch, that, although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in ſome company, for fear of being thought diſaffected.

But, ſince I am determined to take care, that the author of this paper ſhall not be diſcovered (following herein the moſt prudent practice of the *Drapier)*, I will venture to affirm, that the three ſeaſons wherein our corn hath miſcarried did no more contribute to our preſent miſery, than one ſpoonful of water thrown upon a rat already drowned would contribute to his death; and that the preſent plentiful harveſt, although it ſhould be followed by a dozen enſuing, would no more reſtore us, than it would the rat aforeſaid, to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his furcoat, but never bring him back to life.

The ſhort of the matter is this: The diſtreſſes of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and ſo have been doing for above a dozen years paſt.

If you demand from whence theſe diſtreſſes have ariſen, I deſire to aſk the following queſtion:

If

If two thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return, and if the said kingdom be forbidden the most profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing those commodities which are most ruinous to itself, how shall that kingdom stand?

If this question were formed into the first proposition of an hypothetical syllogism, I defy the man born in *Ireland*, who is now in the fairest way of getting a collectorship or a cornet's post, to give good reason for denying it.

Let me put another case. Suppose a gentleman's estate of 200*l.* a year should sink to one hundred, by some accident, whether by an earthquake or inundation it matters not, and suppose the said gentleman utterly hopeless and unqualified ever to retrieve the loss; how is he otherwise to proceed in his future œconomy, than by reducing it on every article to one half less, unless he will be content to fly his country, or rot in jail? This is a representation of *Ireland's* condition, only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propose a full remedy for this, that shall ever be granted, but only a small prolongation of life, until God shall miraculously dispose the hearts of our neighbours and our kinsmen, our fellow-protestants, fellow-subjects, and fellow-rational creatures, to permit us to starve without running further in debt. I am informed that our

national

national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that fashionable thing a national debt) is about 250,000*l.*; which is, at least, one third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our absentees and other foreign drains are paid, and about 50,000*l.* more than all the cash.

It seems, there are several schemes for raising a fund to pay the interest of this formidable sum (not the principal, for this is allowed impossible). The necessity of raising such a fund is strongly and regularly pleaded from the late deficiencies in the duties and customs. And is it the fault of *Ireland* that these funds are deficient? If they depend on trade, can it possibly be otherwise, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor business to employ them if we had? Our diseases are visible enough, both in their causes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impossible to be applied.

If my steward comes and tells me, that my rents are sunk so low that they are very little more than sufficient to pay my servants their wages, have I any other course left, than to cashier four in six of my rascally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whose insolence the whole neighbourhood complains. And I would think it extremely severe in any law, to force me to maintain a household of fifty servants, and fix their wages, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legislators.

To

To return from digressing: I am told one scheme for raising a fund to pay the interest of our national debt is, by a further duty of forty shillings a ton upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this matter much further, by raising it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition. Thus weakly arguing from the practice of *England*.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in discourse, that there is no topick so fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in *Ireland* from the example of *England*, *Holland*, *France*, or any other country, whose inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of human kind. I could undertake to name six or seven of the most uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly false in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any person may deliver his opinion upon it, until it shall have passed into a law; and, till then, I declare mine to be positively against it.

First, Because there is no nation yet known, in either hemisphere, where the people of all conditions are more in want of some cordial, to keep up their spirits, than in this of ours. I am not in jest; and, if the fact will not be allowed me, I shall not argue it.

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty shillings additional on every ton of wine (which will be double at least to the home-

home-consumer) will increase equally every new session of parliament, until perhaps it comes to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Because, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like instances in *England*, this additional tax will more probably lessen this branch of the revenue, than encrease it. And therefore Sir *John Stanley*, a commissioner of the customs in *England*, used to say, that the House of Commons were generally mistaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two makes four. Thus, if you should lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raisins, or sugar, the revenue, instead of rising, would certainly sink; and the consequence would only be, to lessen the number of plumb-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewise assured by merchants, that, upon this additional forty shillings, the *French* will at least equally raise their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers, upon the balance, by our trade with *France* for several years past; and, although our gain amounts to no great sum, we ought to be satisfied, since we are no losers, with the only consolation we are capable of receiving.

Lastly, The worst consequence is behind. If we raise the duty on wine to a considerable height, we lose the only hold we have of keeping among us the

the few gentlemen of any tolerable estates. I am confident, there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a year and upwards, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to consider whether he should live here, or in *England*, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of *England*, as in some very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift, and prudence in œconomy, which passes there without reproach (and chiefly in *London* itself), would amply make up the difference. But the article of *French* wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune: and this it is which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the scale with those few landed men disengaged from employments, who content themselves to live hospitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obscurity in another, with bad, or with none at all.

Having therefore, as far as in me lies, abolished this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the least concern about paying the interest of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wisdom of the honourable house of commons: I come now to consider by what methods we may be able to put off and delay our utter undoing as long as it is possible.

I never have discoursed any reasonable man upon this subject, who did not allow that there was no

remedy

remedy left us, but to lessen the importation of all unnecessary commodities, as much as it was possible; and likewise, either to persuade our absentees to spend their money at home, which is impossible, or tax them at five shillings in the pound during their absence, with such allowances, upon necessary occasions, as shall be thought convenient; or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three last methods are treated by Mr. *Prior*, in his most useful treatise, added to his list of absentees.

It is to gratify the vanity and pride and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this insupportable grievance of bringing in the instruments of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near ninety thousand pounds worth of silk, whereof the greater part is manufactured: Thirty thousand pounds more is expended in muslin, holland, cambrick, and callico. What the price of lace amounts to, is not easy to be recollected from the custom-house book, being a kind of goods that takes up little room, and is easily run; but, considering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dress, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a yard, must be very great. The tea, rated at seven shillings *per* pound, comes to near twelve thousand pounds; but, considering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, semstress, and tradesman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, must needs cost the kingdom double that sum. Coffee is somewhat

what above 7000*l.* I have seen no account of chocolate, and some other *Indian* or *American* goods. The drapery imported is about 24,000*l.* The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to 150,000*l.* The lavishing of all which money is just as prudent and necessary, as to see a man in an embroidered coat begging out of *Newgate*, in an old shoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw silk is less pernicious; because we have some share in the manufacture; but we are not now in circumstances to trifle. It costs us above 40,000*l.* a year; and if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country shifts, I wish they may go in rags. Let them vie with each other in the fineness of their native linen: Their beauty and gentleness will as well appear, as if they were covered over with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is so weak, as to hope or expect that such a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough hearty, unanimous vote, in both houses of parliament, might perhaps answer as well: every senator, noble or plebeian, giving his honour, that neither himself, nor any of his family, would, in their dress or furniture of their houses, make use of any thing except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom; and that they would use the utmost of their power, influence, and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependants, and friends, to follow their example.

A LET-

A
LETTER
TO THE
ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN,
Concerning the WEAVERS.

MY LORD,

THE Corporation of Weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have so often attended your grace, and called upon me with their schemes and proposals, were with me on *Thursday* last; when he who spoke for the rest, and in the name of his absent brethren, said, it was the opinion of the whole body, that, if somewhat were written at this time, by an able hand, to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good use to the nation in general, and preserve many hundreds of their trade from starving. To which I answered, that it was hard for any man of common spirit to turn his thoughts to such speculations, without discovering a resentment which people are too delicate to bear. For I will not deny to your grace, that I cannot reflect on the singular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without some emotion, and without often examining, as I pass the streets, whether those animals

which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the ſame ſpecies with what I have ſeen very like them in *England*, as to the outward ſhape, but differing, in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in a foreſt; which any man of common prudence would immediately diſcover, by perſuading them to define what they mean by law, liberty, property, courage, reaſon, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my lord, I am very confident of; that if God Almighty, for our ſins, would moſt juſtly ſend us a peſtilence, whoever ſhould dare to diſcover his grief in public for ſuch a viſitation, would certainly be cenſured for diſaffection to the government. For I ſolemnly profeſs, that I do not know one calamity we have undergone theſe many years, whereof any man, whoſe opinions were not in faſhion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, becauſe although a mother, when ſhe hath corrected her child, may ſometimes force it to kiſs the rod, yet ſhe will never give that power to the foot-boy or the ſcullion.

My lord, there are two things for the people of this kingdom to conſider: firſt, their preſent evil condition; and, ſecondly, what can be done in ſome degree to remedy it.

I ſhall not enter into a particular deſcription of our preſent miſery; it hath been already done in ſeveral papers, and very fully in one entitled,

short View of the State of Ireland. It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmost rigor, the remission of a million every year to *England*, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppression of landlords, and discouragement of agriculture.

Now all these evils are without the possibility of a cure, except that of importations; and to fence against ruinous folly will be always in our power, in spite of the discouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and oppression, we labour under: but our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be softened, our absentees never return, our endless foreign payments never be lessened, our own landlords never be less exacting.

All other schemes for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin are idle and visionary, consequently drawn from wrong reasoning and from general topicks, which, for the same causes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly false in ours; as I have told the publick often enough, but with as little effect as what I shall say at present is likely to produce.

I am weary of so many abortive projects, for the advancement of trade; of so many crude proposals, in letters sent me from unknown hands; of so many contradictory speculations, about raising or sinking the value of gold and silver: I am not in the least sorry to hear of the great numbers going to *America*, although very much for the causes that

drive them from us, since the uncontrolled maxim "That people are the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumstances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to support them.

If a private gentleman's income be sunk irretrievably for ever from a hundred pounds to fifty, and he hath no other method to supply the deficiency, I desire to know, my lord, whether such a person hath any other course to take, than to sink half his expences in every article of œconomy, to save himself from ruin and a jail. Is not this more than doubly the case of *Ireland*, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above-mentioned, and many more too well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to relate, have been gradually sinking us, for above a dozen years past, to a degree that we are at least by two thirds in a worse condition than was ever known since the Revolution. Therefore, instead of dreams and projects for advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out some expedient whereby we may reduce our expences to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed so necessary in all private families, and in its own nature so easy to be put in practice, may meet with strong opposition, by the cowardly slavish indulgence of the men to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, strictly adhering to the rules of modern education, seem to employ their

whole ftock of invention in contriving new arts of profufion fafter than the moft parfimonious hufband can afford: and, to compafs this work the more effectually, their univerfal maxim is to defpife and deteft every thing of the growth and manufacture of their own country, and moft to value whatever comes from the very remoteft parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that, if the virtuofi could once find out a world in the Moon, with a paffage to it, our women would wear nothing but what came directly from thence.

The prime coft of wine yearly imported to *Ireland* is valued at 30,000*l.*; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that fum. The lace, filks, callicoes, and all other unneceffary ornaments for women, including *Englifh* cloths and ftuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute grofsly) about 400,000*l.*

Now if we fhould allow the 30,000*l.* wherein the women have their fhare, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct 70,000*l.* more for over-reaching, there would ftill remain 300,000*l.* annually fpent, for unwholefome drugs and unneceffary finery. Which prodigious fum would be wholly faved, and many thoufands of our miferable fhop-keepers and manufacturers comfortably fupported.

Let fpeculative people bufy their brains as much as they pleafe, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from finking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign drefs and luxury.

It is absolutely so in fact, that every husband, of any fortune in the kingdom, is nourishing a poisonous devouring serpent in his bosom, with all the mischief, but with none of its wisdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might still vie with each other in the course of foppery; and still have room left to vie with each other, and equally shew their wit and judgment in deciding upon the variety of *Irish* stuffs. And, if they could be contented with their native wholesome slops for breakfast, we should hear no more of the spleen, hystericks, colicks, palpitations, and asthmas. They might still be allowed to ruin each other and their husbands at play, because the money lost would only circulate among ourselves.

My lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the sottishness of men, or the vanity of women; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the most effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common course of buying and selling the very necessaries of life in our markets, unless we absolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and silk, who have so frequently offered proposals both to your grace and to me, are the hottest and coldest generation of men that I have known. About a month ago, they attended your grace, when I had the honour to be with you; and designed me the same favour. They desired you would recom

mend to your clergy to wear gowns of *Iriſh* ſtuffs, which might probably ſpread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom; and, perhaps, among the lawyers and gentlemen of the univerſity; and among the citizens of thoſe corporations who appear in gowns on ſolemn occaſions. I then mentioned a kind of ſtuff, not above eight-pence a yard, which I heard had been contrived by ſome of the trade, and was very convenient. I deſired they would prepare ſome of that, or any ſort of black ſtuff, on a certain day, when your grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace, and there give their opinions; and that, your grace's viſitation approaching, you could then have the beſt opportunity of ſeeing what could be done in a matter of ſuch conſequence, as they ſeemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But, inſtead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new propoſal, that ſomething ſhould be written, by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home manufactures, and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I aſked if they had prepared the ſtuffs, as they had promiſed, and your grace expected; but they had not made the leaſt ſtep in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did, ſome years ago, propoſe to the maſters and principal dealers in the home manufactures of ſilk and wool, that they ſhould meet together; and,

and, after mature consideration, publish advertisements to the following purpose.

That, in order to encourage the wearing of *Irish* manufactures in silk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they, the under-signed, would enter into bonds for themselves and for each other, to sell the several sorts of stuffs, cloths, and silks, made to the best perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices; and in such a manner, that, if a child were sent to any of their shops, the buyer might be secure of the value and goodness, and measure of the ware: and, lest this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of trade might be admitted, upon such conditions as should be agreed on. And, if any person whatsoever should complain that he was ill-used in the value and goodness of what he bought, the matter should be examined, the person injured be fully satisfied by the whole corporation, without delay, and the dishonest seller be struck out of the society, unless it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from mistake.

The mortal danger is, that, if these dealers could prevail, by the goodness and cheapness of their cloths and stuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of *Ireland* in favour of their goods; they would relapse into the knavish practice peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even so low as a common ale-seller; who, as soon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and

and outſells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worſt he can buy, till his cuſtomers will come no more. Thus I have known at *London*, in a general mourning, the drapiers dye black all their old damaged goods, and ſell them at double rates; then complain, and petition the court, that they are ready to ſtarve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I ſay, thoſe principal weavers who would enter into ſuch a compact as I have mentioned, muſt give ſufficient ſecurity againſt all ſuch practices: for, if once the women can perſuade their huſbands that foreign goods, beſides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more ſervice, our laſt ſtate will be worſe than the firſt.

I do not here pretend to digeſt perfectly the method by which theſe principal ſhop-keepers ſhall proceed in ſuch a propoſal; but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot reaſonably be objected againſt.

We have ſeen what a deſtructive loſs the kingdom received, by the deteſtable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen-weavers, or both; notwithſtanding all the care of the governors at that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the *Spniards* for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of 300,000*l.* a year. But, while we deal like pedlars, we ſhall practiſe like pedlars, and ſacrifiſe all honeſty to the preſent urging advantage.

What I have ſaid may ſerve as an anſwer to the deſire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would

I would offer my notions to the publick. As to any thing further, let them apply themselves to the parliament in their next session. Let them prevail on the house of commons to grant one very reasonable request; and I shall think there is still some spirit left in the nation, when I read a vote to this purpose: Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this house will, for the future, wear no cloth but such as are made of *Irish* growth, or of *Irish* manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other: and that they will, to the utmost, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants, to follow their example. And if, at the same time, they could banish tea, and coffee, and china-ware out of their families, and force their wives to chat their scandal over an infusion of sage, or other wholesome domestic vegetables, we might possibly be able to subsist, and pay our absentees, pensioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, students, school-boys, splenetic visitors of *Bath*, *Tunbridge*, and *Epsom*, with all other smaller drains, by sending our crude unwrought goods to *England*, and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own subsistance.

I have been, for a dozen years past, wisely prognosticating the present condition of this kingdom; which any human creature of common sense could foretel, with as little sagacity as myself. My

meaning

meaning is, that a consumptive body must needs die, which hath spent all its spirits, and received no nourishment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardness of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill seasons, which better climates than ours are more exposed to; or to scarcity of silver, which, to a nation of liberty, would only be a slight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month's warning.

ANSWER

ANSWER

TO SEVERAL

LETTERS from unknown PERSONS.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIX.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think that I received a letter from you two [e] laſt ſummer, directed to *Dublin*, while I was in the country, whither it was ſent me, and I ordered an anſwer to it to be printed; but, it ſeems, it had little effect, and I ſuppoſe this will have not much more. But the heart of this people is waxed groſs, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have cloſed. And, gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing: that the world is too regardleſs of what we write for the public good: that, after we have delivered our thoughts, without any proſpect of advantage or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by ſubſcribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of ſending it into the world, unleſs we will be at all or half the expence: and, although we are willing enough to beſtow our labours, we think it unreaſonable to be out of pocket;

[e] *Trueman and Dogſtail.*

because

because it, probably, may not consist with the situation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and, in a great measure, your manner of declaring them; and I do imagine you intended that the world should not only know your sentiments, but my answer, which I shall impartially give.

That great prelate, in whose cover you directed your letter, sent it to me this morning; and I begin my answer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my answer; because, I conceive, it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I shall therefore now go on to answer your letter in all manner of sincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myself to be only an imaginary person: for, although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never answered it otherwise than in print; neither was I at a loss to know the reasons why so many people of this kingdom were transporting themselves to *America*. And, if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of *Pennsylvania*, to tempt people to go thither; I do declare that those who were tempted, by such a narrative, to such a journey, were fools, and the author a most impudent knave; at least, if it be the same pamphlet I saw when it first came out, which is above twenty five years ago, dedicated

cated to *William Penn* (whom by a miſtake you call Sir *William Penn*) and ſtyling him, by authority of the ſcripture, Moſt noble governor. For I was very well acquainted with *Penn*, and did, ſome years after, talk with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who ſpoke ſo many things in praiſe of the ſoil and climate, which *Penn* himſelf did abſolutely contradict. For he did aſſure me, that this country wanted the ſhelter of mountains, which left it open to the Northern winds from *Hudſon's Bay* and the *Frozen Sea*, which deſtroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables. But, indeed, *New-York*, *Virginia*, and other parts leſs Northward, or more defended by mountains, are deſcribed as excellent countries; but, upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to ſeek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is eaſier to be determined. They conceive themſelves to live under the tyranny of moſt cruel exacting landlords, who have no view further than encreaſing their rent-rolls. *Secondly*, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you ſeem not to know the reaſon. *Thirdly*, You lament moſt juſtly the money ſpent by abſentees in *England*. *Fourthly*, You complain that your linen manufacture declines. *Fifthly*, That your tithe-collectors oppreſs you. *Sixthly*, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatſoever. *Seventhly*, You are

undone

undone for want of ſilver, and want all other money.

I could eaſily add ſome other motives, which, to men of ſpirit, who deſire and expect, and think they deſerve, the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force than any you have yet named to drive them out of this kingdom. But, as theſe ſpeculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I ſhall chuſe to let them paſs unmentioned. Yet I cannot but obſerve, that my very good and virtuous friend, his excellency *Burnet (O fili, nec tali indigne parente!)* hath not hitherto been able to perſuade his vaſſals, by his oratory in the ſtyle of a command, to ſettle a revenue on his vice-royal perſon. I have been likewiſe aſſured, that, in one of thoſe colonies on the continent, which nature hath ſo far favoured, as (by the induſtry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice; the ſtubbornneſs of the people, who, having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might ſell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleaſed, and ſeem, by their practice, very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But, to return to my ſubject: I muſt confeſs to you both, that, if one reaſon of your people's deſerting us be the deſpair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one ſyllable to anſwer; becauſe that would be to hope for what is impoſſible; and ſo I have been telling the publick theſe ten years. For there are three events which

muſt

muſt precede any ſuch bleſſing: *firſt*, A liberty of trade; *ſecondly*, A ſhare of preferments in all kinds, equal to the *Britiſh* natives; and *thirdly*, A return of thoſe abſentees, who take away almoſt one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the firſt and ſecond, there is nothing left us but deſpair; and, for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom hath no money to ſend them, for which, in my own particular, I ſhould not be ſorry.

The exaction of landlords hath indeed been a grievance of above twenty years ſtanding. But, as to what you object about the ſevere clauſes relating to the improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other ſide: for the landlords, either by their ignorance or greedineſs of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter ſo ill, as we ſee by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who hath made any improvement worth mentioning: for which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and deſolation; the cabins of the *Scotch* themſelves, in *Ulſter*, being as dirty and miſerable as thoſe of the wildeſt *Iriſh*. Whereas good firm penal clauſes for improvement, with a tolerable eaſy rent and a reaſonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have encreaſed the rents of *Ireland* at leaſt a third part in the intrinſic value.

I am glad to hear you ſpeak with ſome decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tithes. But you entirely miſtake the fact; for I defy the

moſt

most wicked and most powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppress the meanest farmer in the parish; and I defy the same clergyman to prevent himself from being cheated by the same farmer, whenever that farmer shall be disposed to be knavish or peevish. For, although the *Ulster* tithing-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other in the kingdom, yet the minister can demand no more than his tenth; and, where the corn much exceeds the small tithes, as, except in some districts, I am told it always doth, he is at the mercy of every stubborn farmer, especially of those whose sect as well as interest incline them to opposition. However, I take it that your people, bent for *America*, do not shew the best side of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint: yet they are so far wise as not to make the payment of tithes a scruple of conscience, which is too gross for any protestant dissenter, except a quaker, to pretend. But, do your people indeed think, that, if tithes were abolished, or delivered into the hands of the hands of the landlord after the blessed manner in the *Scotch* spiritual œconomy, the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person, who must be lord of the soil, and of the tithe together.

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppression of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its necessary consequences, the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom spent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the strong delusion in your people by false allurement from *America*, may

be the chief motives of their eagerneſs after ſuch an expedition. But there is likewiſe another temptation, which is not of inconſiderable weight; which is, their itch of living in a country where their ſect is predominant, and where their eyes and conſciences will not be offended by the ſtumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and ſpiritual titles.

But I am ſurpriſed to find that thoſe calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been ſufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reaſon to complain of oppreſſive landlords. For, while I was laſt year in the Northern parts, a perſon of quality, whoſe eſtate was lett above twenty years ago, and then at a very reaſonable rent, ſome for leaſes of lives, and ſome perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchaſe eleven of thoſe leaſes at a very inconſiderable price, although they were two years ago reckoned to pay but half value. From whence it is manifeſt that our preſent miſerable condition, and the diſmal proſpect of worſe, with other reaſons above aſſigned, are ſufficient to put men upon trying this deſperate experiment of changing the ſcene they are in, although landlords ſhould, by a miracle, become leſs inhuman.

There is hardly a ſcheme propoſed for improving the trade of this kingdom, which doth not manifeſtly ſhew the ſtupidity and ignorance of the propoſer: and I laugh with contempt at thoſe weak wiſe heads who proceed upon general maxims, or adviſe us to follow the examples of *Holland* and *England*. Theſe empiricks talk by rote, without underſtanding the

conſtitution

constitution of the kingdom; as if a physician, knowing that exercise contributed much to health, should prescribe to his patient under a severe fit of the gout, to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for *Ireland* are very short and plain; to encourage agriculture and home-consumption, and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life. And how few necessaries, conveniencies, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and industry? Are those detestable extravagancies of *Flanders* lace, *English*-cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, *Italian* or *Indian* silks, tea, coffee, chocolate, *China*-ware, and that profusion of wines, by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every season, with a hundred unnecessary fopperies, better known to others than me; are these, I say, fit for us, any more than for the beggar who could not eat his veal without oranges? is it not the highest indignity to human nature, that men should be such poltrons, as to suffer the kingdom and themselves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonness of their wives; who, under their present corruptions, seem to be a kind of animal suffered, for our sins, to be sent into the world for the destruction of families, societies, and kingdoms, and whose study seems directed to be as expensive as they possibly can in every useless article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the most pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive;

as ſtarlings grow fat with hen-bane; who contract a robuſtneſs by mere practice of ſloth and luxury; who can play deep ſeveral hours after midnight, ſleep beyond noon, revel upon *Indian* poiſons, and ſpend the revenues of a moderate family, to adorn a nauſeous, unwholeſome living carcaſe? Let thoſe few, who are not concerned in any part of the accuſation, ſuppoſe it unſaid; let the reſt take it among toem. Gracious God! in his mercy, look down upon a nation ſo ſhamefully beſotted.

If I am poſſeſſed of an hundred pounds a year, and by ſome misfortune it ſinks to fifty, without a poſſibility of ever being retrieved: does it remain a queſtion, in ſuch an exigency, what I am to do? muſt not I retrench one half in every article of expence? or retire to ſome cheap, diſtant part of the country, where neceſſaries are at half value?

Is there any mortal who can ſhew me, under the circumſtances we ſtand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the deſolation cauſed by abſentees, under many other circumſtances not to be mentioned, that this kingdom can ever be a nation of trade, or ſubſiſt by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmoſt parſimony in the manner I have already preſcribed?

I am tired with letters from many unreaſonable well-meaning people, who are daily preſſing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture; which, upon many others, I have ſo often done in vain. What will it import, that half a ſcore peo-

ple,

ſe, in a coffee-houſe, may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of thoſe few differ in every ſentiment from me? if the farmer be not allowed to ſow his corn, if half the little money among us be ſent to pay rents to *Iriſh* abſentees, and the reſt for foreign luxury, and dreſs for the women, what will our charitable diſpoſitions avail, when there is nothing left to be given? when, contrary to all cuſtom and example, all neceſſaries of life are ſo exorbitant, when money of all kinds was never known to be ſo ſcarce; ſo that gentlemen of no contemptible eſtates are forced to retrench in every article (except what relates to their wives) without being able to ſhew any bounty to the poor?

AN
ANSWER
TO SEVERAL
LETTERS
Sent me from unknown HANDS.

Written in the Year MDCCXXIX.

I AM very well pleaſed with the good opinion you expreſs of me, and wiſh it were any way in my power to anſwer your expectations, for the ſervice of my country. I have carefully read your ſeveral ſchemes and propoſals, which you think ſhould be offered to the parliament. In anſwer, I will aſſure you, that, in another place, I have known very good propoſals rejected with contempt by public aſſemblies, merely becauſe they were offered from without doors; and yours perhaps might have the ſame fate, eſpecially if handed to the publick by me, who am not acquainted with the members, nor have the leaſt intereſt with one. My printers have been twice proſecuted, to my great expence, on account of diſcourſes I writ for the public ſervice, without the leaſt reflexion on parties or perſons; and the ſucceſs I had in thoſe of the Drapier was not owing to my abilities, but

to

to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true both those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge, who is now gone to his own place [*f*]. But let that be as it will, I am determined henceforth never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain, there are several particulars relating to this kingdom (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my Drapier's letters), which it were heartily to be wished that the parliament would take under their consideration, such as will nowise interfere with *England*, otherwise than to its advantage.

The first I shall mention is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, gentlemen, about the highways; which, indeed, are almost every where scandalously neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and saver of his money, who, being possessed of some adjacent lands, hath been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them; and hath assured me, that his lands are thereby advanced four or five shillings an acre, by which he gets treble interest. But, generally speaking, all over the kingdom, the roads are deplorable; and, what is more particularly barbarous, there is no sort of provision made for travellers on foot; no, not near the city, except in a very few places, and in a

[*f*] Lord Chief-Justice *Whitshed.*

moſt wretched manner: whereas the *Engliſh* are ſo particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there an hundred miles with leſs inconvenience than one mile here. But, ſince this may be thought too great a reformation, I ſhall only ſpeak of roads for horſes, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one third ſmaller than *England*; yet, by ſome natural diſadvantages, it would not bear quite the ſame proportion in value, with the ſame encouragement. However, it hath ſo happened, for many years paſt, that it never arrived to above one eleventh part in point of riches; and, of late, by the continual decreaſe of trade and increaſe of abſentees, with other circumſtances not here to be mentioned, hardly to a fifteenth part; at leaſt, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our ſide.

Now, ſuppoſing day-labour to be cheaper by one half here than in *England*, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages and the deſolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one eighth part ſo much as thoſe of *England*, which is a very moderate computation; I do not ſee why the mending of them would be a greater burthen to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of parliament, in ſix or ſeven years of the late king [g], for mending long tracts of impaſſable ways in ſeveral counties of *England*, by erecting turnpikes,

[g] King *George* I.

and

and receiving paſſage-money in a manner that every body knows. If what if, have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reaſon againſt the ſame practice here, ſince the neceſſity is as great, the advantage in proportion perhaps much greater, the materials of ſtone and gravel as eaſy to be found, and the workmanſhip at leaſt twice as cheap. Beſides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of the nation, by ſo many perch a year; but with a ſpecial care to encourage ſkill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to thoſe of the meaner ſort: but againſt theſe, no doubt, the wiſdom of the nation may, and will, provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deſerves the public care, is the ill-management of the bogs, the neglect whereof is a much greater miſchief to this kingdom than moſt people ſeem to be aware of.

It is allowed indeed, by thoſe who are eſteemed moſt ſkilful in ſuch matters, that the red-ſwelling moſſy bog, whereof we have ſo many large tracts in this iſland, is not by any means to be fully reduced; but the ſkirts, which are covered with a green coat, eaſily may, being not an accretion, or annual growth of moſs, like the other.

Now the landlords are generally ſo careleſs as to ſuffer their tenants to cut their turf in theſe ſkirts, as well as the bog adjoined, whereby there is yearly loſt a conſiderable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greateſt part of the miſchief. For the main bog, although perhaps not reducible to natural ſoil, yet, by continuing large, deep, ſtraight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times, as low as the channel or gravel, would become a ſecure ſummer-paſture; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickins, birch, and other trees proper for ſuch a ſoil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon ſled-cars with great expence, difficulty, and loſs of time, by reaſon of the many turf-pits ſcattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it hath been, I confeſs, to me a matter of the greateſt vexation as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be ſo abſurd as to ſuffer ſuch havock to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of foreſt-trees are, I am told, extremely defective; which, with great ſubmiſſion, muſt have been owing to a defect of ſkill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the Weſt-ſouth-weſt wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-ſhelter. I have not, indeed, read all the acts; but, from enquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in groves is enjoined. And, as to the effects of theſe laws, I have not ſeen the leaſt, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemen's houſes,

and

and even those with very little skill or success. In all the rest, the hedges generally miscarry, as well as the larger slender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common skill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of ash, a few feet asunder, which in seven years would make the best kind of hop-poles, and grow, in the same or less time, to a second crop from their roots.

It would likewise be of great use and beauty in our desert scenes, to oblige all tenants and cottagers to plant ash or elm before their cabbins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not, or ought not to come to destroy them.

The common objection against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition, of the poor native *Irish*, might be easily answered, by shewing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life: but my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or horse, I have often seen those two animals civilized by rewards, at least as much as by punishments.

It would be a noble atchievement to abolish the *Irish* language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only *English* on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: yet I am wholly deceived, if

if this might not be effectually done in leſs than half an age, and at a very trifling expence; for ſuch I look upon a tax to be, of only ſix thouſand pounds a year, to accompliſh ſo great a work. This would, in a great meaſure, civilize the moſt barbarous among them, reconcile them to our cuſtoms and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be eſtabliſhed. The method is plain and ſimple; and, although I am too deſponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wiſh ſome public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, ſavage, beaſtly, thieviſh manner of life, in which they continue ſunk to a degree, that it is almoſt impoſſible for a country gentleman to find a ſervant of human capacity, or the leaſt tincture of natural honeſty; or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations deſtroyed, his cattle ſtolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in with *land*, continuing to carry thither ſo many wealthy families, the conſequences thereof, together *Eng*- the utter loſs of all trade, except what is detrimental, which hath forced ſuch great numbers of weavers, and others, to ſeek their bread in foreign countries, the unhappy practice of ſtocking ſuch vaſt quantities of land with ſheep and other cattle, which reduceth twenty families to one: Theſe events, I ſay, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for ſeveral years paſt. I ſhould heartily

wiſh,

wiſh, therefore, under this miſerable dearth of money, that thoſe who are moſt concerned would think it adviſeable to ſave a hundred thouſand pounds a year, which is now ſent out of this kingdom, to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politicks of all the nations, than that of encouraging agriculture. And, therefore, to what kind of wiſdom a practice ſo directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what muſt be the iſſue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other part have nothing to do?

If it ſhould be thought proper by wiſer heads, that his majeſty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own uſe, I believe no good ſubject will be under the leaſt apprehenſion that ſuch a requeſt could meet with refuſal, or the leaſt delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil ſociety, under the proper inſpection of its prince or legiſlature, to coin money of all uſual metals for its own occaſions. Every petty prince in *Germany*, vaſſal to the emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have ſeen in this kingdom ſeveral ſilver pieces, with the inſcription of CIVITAS WATERFORD, DROGHEDAGH, and other towns.

THE

THE
SUBSTANCE
OF

What was ſaid by the DEAN of St. PATRICK's to the LORD MAYOR and ſome of the ALDERMEN, when his Lordſhip came to preſent the ſaid DEAN with his Freedom in a Gold-box.

WHEN his lordſhip had ſaid a few words, and preſented the inſtrument, the dean gently put it back, and deſired firſt to be heard. He ſaid, He was much obliged to his lordſhip and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him: that it was true this honour was mingled with a little mortification, by the delay which attended it: but which, however, he did not impute to his lordſhip or the city: and that the mortification was the leſs, becauſe he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a miſtake; for which opinion he would tell his reaſon. He ſaid, It was well known, that ſome time ago, a perſon with a title was pleaſed, in two great aſſemblies, to rattle bitterly ſomebody

ſome body without a name, under the injurious appellations of a Tory, a Jacobite, an enemy to King *George*, and a libeller of the government; which character, the dean ſaid, many people thought was applied to him: but he was unwilling to be of that opinion, becauſe the perſon who had delivered thoſe abuſive words had, for ſeveral years, careſſed and courted, and ſollicited his friendſhip more than any man in either kingdom had ever done; by inviting him to his houſe in town and country, by coming to the deanry often, and calling or ſending almoſt every day when the dean was ſick, with many other particulars of the ſame nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the ſaid perſon made thoſe invectives in the council and houſe of lords. Therefore, that the dean would by no means think thoſe ſcurrilous words could be intended againſt him; becauſe ſuch a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, juſtice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the dean will endeavour to believe, that the ſaid perſon had ſome other object in his thoughts; and it was only the uncharitable cuſtom of the world that applied this character to him. However, that he would inſiſt on this argument no longer: but one thing he would affirm and declare, without aſſigning any name or making any exception, That, whoever either did, or does, or ſhall hereafter at any time, charge him with the character of a Jacobite, an enemy to king *George*, or a libeller of the government,

ment, the ſaid accuſation was, is, and will be falſe, malicious, ſlanderous, and altogether groundleſs. And he would take the freedom to tell his lordſhip and the reſt that ſtood by, that he had done more ſervice to the *Hanover*-time, and more diſſervice to the pretender's cauſe, than forty thouſand of thoſe noiſy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature hath denied any talent that could be of uſe to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and ſpitting their venom, againſt all who differ from them in their deſtructive principles both in church and ſtate. That he confeſſed, it was ſometimes his misfortune to diſlike ſome things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had often the honour to agree with wiſe and good men; but this did by no means affect either his loyalty to his prince, or love to his country. But, on the contrary, he proteſted that ſuch diſlikes never aroſe in him from any other principles, than the duty he owed to the king, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and miniſters long enough, and knew too well that the beſt miniſters might miſtake in points of great importance; and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at leaſt full as honeſt, as any can be at preſent. The dean further ſaid, That, ſince he had been ſo falſely repreſented, he thought it became him to give ſome account of himſelf for above twenty years, if it were only to juſtify his lordſhip and the city for the honour they were going to do him.

him. He related briefly how, merely by his own personal credit, without other assistance, and in two journeys at his expence, he had procured a grant of the first fruits to the clergy, in the late queen's time; for which he thought he deserved some gentle treatment from his brethren. That, during all the administration of the said ministry, he had been a constant advocate for those who are called the Whigs; had kept many of them in their employments, both in *England* and here, and some who were afterwards the first to lift up their heels against him. He reflected a little upon the severe treatment he had met with upon his return to *Ireland* after her majesty's death, and for some years after. That, being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public service, than by employing all the little money he could save, and lending it, without interest, in small sums, to poor industrious tradesmen, examining their party or their faith. And God had so far pleased to bless his endeavours, that his managers tell him he hath recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed most of them in a comfortable way of life. The dean related how much he had suffered in his purse, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a most iniquitous judge [*b*]; who, to gratify his ambition and rage of party, had condemned an innocent book, written with no worse a

[*c*] See the Note Vol. X. page 1.

 design,

design, than to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures. How the said judge had endeavoured to get a jury to his mind; but they proved so honest, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and send them back nine times, until, at last, they were compelled to leave the printer [*d*] to the mercy of the court. And the dean was forced to procure a *noli prosequi* from a noble person, then secretary of state, who had been his old friend. The dean then freely confessed himself to be the author of those books called the *Drapier's Letters*, and spoke gently of the proclamation, offering 300*l.* to discover the writer. He said, that although a certain person was pleased to mention those books in a slight manner at a public assembly, yet he (the dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thousand to one in the kingdom who differed from that person; and the people of *England*, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in *France*, were all of the same opinion. The dean mentioned several other particulars, some of which, those from whom I had the account could not recollect, and others, although of great consequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him. The dean concluded with acknowledging to have expressed his wishes, that an inscription might have been graven on the box, shewing some reason why the city thought fit to do him that honour, which was much out of

[*d*] *Harding.*

the

the common forms to a person in a private station; those distinctions being usually made only to chief governors, or persons in very high employments [*e*].

[*d*] Arguments of a similar nature were used by Dr. *Swift*, at the time the freedom of *Cork* was presented to him. See Vol. XIV. p. 10.

THOUGHTS

ON

RELIGION.

I AM in all opinions to believe according to my own impartial reaſon; which I am bound to inform and improve, as far as my capacity and opportunities will permit.

It may be prudent in me to act ſometimes by other mens reaſon; but I can think only by my own.

If another man's reaſon fully convinceth me, it becomes my own reaſon.

To ſay a man is bound to believe, is neither truth nor ſenſe.

You may force men, by intereſt or puniſhment, to ſay or ſwear they believe, and to act as if they believed: you can go no further.

Every man, as a member of the commonwealth, ought to be content with the poſſeſſion of his own opinion in private, without perplexing his neighbour or diſturbing the publick.

Violent zeal for truth hath an hundred to one odds to be either petulancy, ambition, or pride.

There is a degree of corruption, wherein ſome nations, as bad as the world is, will proceed to an amendment; till which time, particular men ſhould be quiet.

To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impoſſible, and the attempt wicked, whether thoſe opinions be true or falſe; unleſs your avowed deſign be to aboliſh that religion altogether. So, for inſtance, in the famous doctrine of *Chriſt's* divinity, which hath been univerſally received by all bodies of Chriſtians, ſince the condemnation of Arianiſm under *Conſtantine* and his ſucceſſors: wherefore the proceedings of the *Socinians* are both vain and unwarrantable; becauſe they will be never able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other ſucceſs than breeding doubts and diſturbances in the world. *Qui ratione ſua diſturbant mœnia mundi.*

The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed when it cannot be overcome.

The Chriſtian religion, in the moſt early times, was propoſed to the Jews and Heathens without the article of *Chriſt's* divinity; which, I remember, *Eraſmus* accounts for, by its being too ſtrong a meat for babes. Perhaps, if it were now ſoftened by the *Chineſe* miſſionaries, the converſion of thoſe infidels would be leſs difficult: and we find, by the Alcoran, it is the great ſtumbling-block of the Mahometans. But, in a country already Chriſtian, to bring ſo fundamental a point of faith into debate, can have no conſequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace.

I have been often offended to find St. *Paul's* allegories, and other figures of *Grecian* eloquence, converted by divines into articles of faith.

God's

God's mercy is over all his Works; but divines of all ſorts leſſen that mercy too much.

I look upon myſelf, in the capacity of a clergyman, to be one appointed by Providence for defending a poſt aſſigned me, and for gaining over as many enemies as I can. Although I think my cauſe is juſt, yet one great motion is my ſubmitting to the pleaſure of Providence, and to the laws of my country.

I am not anſwerable to God for the doubts that ariſe in my own breaſt, ſince they are the conſequence of that reaſon which he hath planted in me; if I take care to conceal thoſe doubts from others, if I uſe my beſt endeavours to ſubdue them, and if they have no influence on the conduct of my life.

I believe that thouſands of men would be orthodox enough in certain points, if divines had not been too curious, or too narrow, in reducing orthodoxy within the compaſs of ſubtleties, niceties, and diſtinctions, with little warrant from Scripture, and leſs from reaſon or good policy.

I never ſaw, heard, nor read, that the clergy were beloved in any nation where Chriſtianity was the religion of the country. Nothing can render them popular but ſome degree of perſecution.

Thoſe fine gentlemen, who affect the humour of railing at the clergy, are, I think, bound in honour to turn parſons themſelves, and ſhew us better examples.

Miſerable

Miſerable mortals! can we contribute to the *honour and glory of God?* I could wiſh that expreſſion were ſtruck out of our prayer-books.

Liberty of conſcience, properly ſpeaking, is no more than the liberty of poſſeſſing our own thoughts and opinions, which every man enjoys without fear of the magiſtrate: but how far he ſhall publicly act in purſuance of thoſe opinions, is to be regulated by the laws of the country. Perhaps, in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-inſtituted commonwealth before a monarchy; and I know ſeveral others of the ſame opinion. Now, if, upon this pretence, I ſhould inſiſt upon liberty of conſcience, form conventicles of republicans, and print books preferring that government and condemning what is eſtabliſhed, the magiſtrate would, with great juſtice, hang me and my diſciples. It is the ſame caſe in religion, although not ſo avowed, where liberty of conſcience, under the preſent acceptation, equally produces revolutions, or at leaſt convulſions and diſturbances, in a ſtate; which politicians would ſee well enough, if their eyes were not blinded by faction, and of which theſe kingdoms, as well as *France, Sweden,* and other countries, are flaming inſtances. *Cromwell's* notion upon this article was natural and right; when, upon the ſurrender of a town in *Ireland,* the Popiſh governor inſiſted upon an article for liberty of conſcience, *Cromwell* ſaid, he meddled with no man's conſcience; but if, by liberty of conſcience, the governor meant the liberty of the Maſs,

Mafs, he had expref's orders from the parliament of *England* againft admitting any fuch liberty at all.

It is impoffible that any thing fo natural, fo neceffary, and fo univerfal as death, fhould ever have been defigned by Providence as an evil to mankind.

Although reafon were intended by Providence to govern our paffions, yet it feems that, in two points of the greateft moment to the being and continuance of the world, God hath intended our paffions to prevail over reafon. The firft is, the propagation of our fpecies, fince no wife man ever married from the dictates of reafon. The other is, the love of life, which, from the dictates of reafon, every man would defpife, and wifh it at an end, or that it never had a beginning.

FURTHER

FURTHER

THOUGHTS

ON

RELIGION.

THE Scripture-ſyſtem of man's creation is what Chriſtians are bound to believe, and ſeems moſt agreeable of all others to probability and reaſon. *Adam* was formed from a piece of clay, and *Eve* from one of his ribs. The text mentioneth nothing of his Maker's intending him for, except to rule over the beaſts of the field and birds of the air. As to *Eve*, it doth not appear that her huſband was her monarch; only ſhe was to be his help-mate, and placed in ſome degree of ſubjection. However, before his fall, the beaſts were his moſt obedient ſubjects, whom he governed by abſolute power. After his eating the forbidden fruit, the courſe of nature was changed, the animals began to reject his government; ſome were able to eſcape by flight, and others were too fierce to be attacked. The Scripture mentioneth no particular acts of royalty in *Adam* over his poſterity, who were cotemporary with him, or of any monarch until after the flood: whereof the firſt was *Nimrod*, the mighty hunter, who, as *Milton* expreſſeth it, made men, and not beaſts, his prey. For men were eaſier caught by promiſes, and ſubdued

ſubdued by the folly or treachery of their own ſpecies. Whereas the brutes prevailed only by their courage or ſtrength, which, among them, are peculiar to certain kinds. Lions, bears, elephants, and ſome other animals, are ſtrong or valiant; and their ſpecies never degenerates in their native ſoil, except they happen to be enſlaved or deſtroyed by human fraud: but men degenerate every day, merely by the folly, the perverſeneſs, the avarice, the tyranny, the pride, the treachery, or inhumanity, of their own kind.

A PRAYER FOR STELLA [*f*].

ALMIGHTY and moſt gracious Lord God, extend, we beſeech thee, thy pity and compaſſion towards this thy languiſhing ſervant: en-
teach her to place her hope and confidence en-
tirely in thee; give her a true ſenſe of the emp-
tineſs and vanity of all earthly things: make her
truly ſenſible of all the infirmities of her life paſt,
and grant to her ſuch a true ſincere repentance as is
not to be repented of. Preſerve her, O Lord, in a
ſound mind and underſtanding during this thy vi-
ſitation; keep her from both the ſad extremes of
preſumption and deſpair. If thou ſhalt pleaſe to
reſtore her to her former health, give her grace to be
ever mindful of that mercy, and to keep thoſe good
reſolutions ſhe now makes in her ſickneſs, ſo that
no length of time, nor proſperity, may entice her
to forget them. Let no thought of her misfortunes
diſtract her mind, and prevent the means towards
her recovery, or diſturb her in her preparations
for a better life. We beſeech thee alſo, O Lord,

[*e*] Two other Prayers, written by Dr. *Swift*, and uſed for Mrs. *Johnſon* in her laſt ſickneſs, are printed in vol, xii. p. 209, &c.

of

of thy infinite goodneſs, to remember the good actions of this thy ſervant; that the naked ſhe hath cloathed, the hungry ſhe hath fed, the ſick and the fatherleſs whom ſhe hath relieved, may be reckoned, according to thy gracious promiſe, as if they had been done unto thee. Hearken, O Lord, to the prayers offered up by the friends of this thy ſervant in her behalf, and eſpecially thoſe now made by us unto thee. Give thy bleſſing to thoſe endeavours uſed for her recovery; but take from her all violent deſire, either of life or death, further than with reſignation to thy holy will. And now, O Lord, we implore thy gracious favour towards us here met together; grant that the ſenſe of this thy ſervant's weakneſs may add ſtrength to our faith; that we, conſidering the infirmities of our nature, and the uncertainty of life, may, by this example, be drawn to repentance before it ſhall pleaſe thee to viſit us in the like manner. Accept theſe prayers, we beſeech Thee, for the ſake of thy dear Son Jeſus Chriſt, our Lord; who, with Thee and the Holy Ghoſt, liveth and reigneth ever one God world without end. Amen.

A

SERMON.

1 Cor. iii. 19.

The wiſdom of this world is fooliſhneſs with GOD.

IT is remarkable that, about the time of our Saviour's coming into the world, all kinds of learning flouriſhed to a very great degree, inſomuch that nothing is more frequent in the mouths of many men, even ſuch who pretend to read and to know, than an extravagant praiſe and opinion of the wiſdom and virtue of the *Gentile* ſages of thoſe days, and likewiſe of thoſe antient philoſophers who went before them, whoſe doctrines are left upon record either by themſelves or other writers. As far as this may be taken for granted, it may be ſaid, that the Providence of God brought this about for ſeveral very wiſe ends and purpoſes. For it is certain that theſe philoſophers had been a long time before ſearching out where to fix the true happineſs of man; and, not being able to agree upon any certainty about it, they could not poſſibly but conclude, if they judged impartially, that all their enquiries were, in the end, but vain and fruitleſs; the conſequence of which muſt be, not

only

only an acknowledgement of the weakneſs of all human wiſdom, but likewiſe an open paſſage hereby made, for letting in thoſe beams of light, which the glorious ſunſhine of the goſpel then brought into the world, by revealing thoſe hidden truths, which they had ſo long before been labouring to diſcover, and fixing the general happineſs of mankind beyond all controverſy and diſpute. And therefore the Providence of God wiſely ſuffered men of deep genius and learning then to ariſe, who ſhould ſearch into the truth of the goſpel now made known, and canvaſs its doctrines with all the ſubtilty and knowledge they were maſters of, and in the end freely acknowledge that to be the true wiſdom only which cometh from above. *James* iii. 15, 16, 17.

However, to make a further enquiry into the truth of this obſervation, I doubt not but there is reaſon to think that a great many of thoſe encomiums given to antient philoſophers are taken upon truſt, and by a ſort of men who are not very likely to be at the pains of an enquiry that would employ ſo much time and thinking. For the uſual ends why men affect this kind of diſcourſe, appear generally to be either out of oſtentation, that they may paſs upon the world for perſons of great knowledge and obſervation; or, what is worſe, there are ſome who highly exalt the wiſdom of thoſe Gentile ſages, thereby obliquely to glance at and traduce Divine Revelation, and more eſpecially that of the Goſpel; for the conſequence they

would have us draw, is this: That, since those antient philosophers rose to a greater pitch of wisdom and virtue than was ever known among Christians, and all this purely upon the strength of their own reason and liberty of thinking, therefore it must follow, that either all Revelation is false, or, what is worse, that it has depraved the nature of man, and left him worse than it found him.

But this high opinion of Heathen wisdom is not very antient in the world, nor at all countenanced from primitive times: Our Saviour had but a low esteem of it, as appears by his treatment of the *Pharisees* and *Saducees*, who followed the doctrines of *Plato* and *Epicurus*. St. *Paul* likewise, who was well versed in all the *Grecian* literature, seems very much to despise their philosophy, as we find in his writings, cautioning the *Colossians* to *beware lest any man spoil them through philosophy and vain deceit*. And, in another place, he advises *Timothy* to *avoid prophane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called*; that is, not to introduce into the Christian doctrine the janglings of those vain philosophers, which they would pass upon the world for science. And the reasons he gives are, *first*, That those who professed them did err concerning the faith: *secondly*, Because the knowledge of them did encrease ungodliness, vain babblings being otherways expounded vanities, or empty sounds; that is, tedious disputes about words, which the philosophers were always so full of, and

which

which were the natural product of disputes and dissensions between several sects.

Neither had the primitive fathers any great or good opinion of the Heathen philosophy, as it is manifest from several passages in their writings: so that this vein of affecting to raise the reputation of those sages so high, is a mode and a vice but of yesterday, assumed chiefly, as I have said, to disparage revealed knowledge, and the consequences of it among us.

Now, because this is a prejudice which may prevail with some persons, so far as to lessen the influence of the gospel, and whereas therefore this is an opinion which men of education are like to be encountered with, when they have produced themselves into the world; I shall endeavour to shew that their preference of Heathen wisdom and virtue, before that of the Christian, is every way unjust, and grounded upon ignorance or mistake: in order to which, I shall consider four things.

First, I shall produce certain points, wherein the wisdom and virtue of all unrevealed philosophy in general fell short, and was very imperfect.

Secondly, I shall shew in several instances, where some of the most renowned philosophers have been grossly defective in their lessons of morality.

Thirdly, I shall prove the perfection of Christian wisdom, from the proper characters and marks of it.

Lastly, I shall shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue among the Heathen wise men were

were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any ſect; whereas, in Chriſtianity, it is quite the contrary.

Firſt, I ſhall produce certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy in general fell ſhort, and was very imperfect.

My deſign is to perſuade men, that Chriſtian philoſophy is in all things preferable to Heathen wiſdom; from which, or its profeſſors, I ſhall however have no occaſion to detract. They were as wiſe and as good as it was poſſible for them under ſuch diſadvantages, and would have probably been infinitely more with ſuch aids as we enjoy: but our leſſons are certainly much better, however our practices may fall ſhort.

The firſt point I ſhall mention was that univerſal defect, which was in all their ſchemes, that they could not agree about their chief good, or wherein to place the happineſs of mankind; nor had any of them a tolerable anſwer upon this difficulty, to ſatisfy a reaſonable perſon. For, to ſay, as the moſt plauſible of them did, that happineſs conſiſted in virtue, was but vain babbling, and a mere ſound of words, to amuſe others and themſelves; becauſe they were not agreed what this virtue was, or wherein it did conſiſt; and likewiſe, becauſe ſeveral among the beſt of them taught quite different things, placing happineſs in health or good fortune, in riches or in honour, where all were agreed that virtue was not, as I ſhall have occaſion

occasion to shew, when I speak of their particular tenets.

The second great defect in the Gentile philosophy was, that it wanted some suitable reward proportioned to the better part of man, his mind, as an encouragement for his progress in virtue. The difficulties they met with upon the score of this default were great, and not to be accounted for: bodily goods, being only suitable to bodily wants, are no rest at all for the mind; and, if they were, yet are they not the proper fruits of wisdom and virtue, being equally attainable by the ignorant and wicked. Now, human nature is so constituted, that we can never pursue any thing heartily but upon hopes of a reward. If we run a race, it is in expectation of a prize, and the greater the prize the faster we run; for an incorruptible crown, if we understand it and believe it to be such, more than a corruptible one. But some of the philosophers gave all this quite another turn, and pretended to refine so far, as to call virtue its own reward, and worthy to be followed only for itself: whereas, if there be any thing in this more than the sound of the words, it is at least too abstracted to become an universal influencing principle in the world, and therefore could not be of general use.

It was the want of assigning some happiness, proportioned to the soul of man, that caused many of them, either, on the one hand, to be sour and morose, supercilious and untreatable; or, on the other, to fall into the vulgar pursuits of common men,

men, to hunt after greatneſs and riches, to make their court, and to ſerve occaſions; as *Plato* did to the younger *Dionyſius*, and *Ariſtotle* to *Alexander* the Great. So impoſſible it is, for a man, who looks no further than the preſent world, to fix himſelf long in a contemplation where the preſent world has no part: he has no ſure hold, no firm footing; he can never expect to remove the earth he reſts upon, while he has no ſupport beſide for his feet, but wants, like *Archimedes*, ſome other place whereon to ſtand. To talk of bearing pain and grief, without any ſort of preſent or future hope, cannot be purely greatneſs of ſpirit; there muſt be a mixture in it of affectation, and an allay of pride, or perhaps is wholly counterfeit.

It is true, there has been all along in the world a notion of rewards and puniſhments in another life; but it ſeems to have rather ſerved as an entertainment to poets, or as a terror of children, than a ſettled principle by which men pretended to govern any of their actions. The laſt celebrated words of *Socrates*, a little before his death, do not ſeem to reckon or build much upon any ſuch opinion; and *Cæſar* made no ſcruple to diſown it, and ridicule it in open ſenate.

Thirdly, The greateſt and wiſeſt of all their philoſophers were never able to give any ſatisfaction, to others and themſelves, in their notions of a Deity. They were often extremely groſs and abſurd in their conceptions; and thoſe who made the faireſt conjectures are ſuch as were generally allowed

allowed by the learned to have ſeen the ſyſtem of *Moſes*, if I may ſo call it, who was in great reputation at that time in the Heathen world, as we find by *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, *Longinus*, and other authors; for the reſt, the wiſeſt among them laid aſide all notions after a Deity, as a diſquiſition vain and fruitleſs, which indeed it was, upon unrevealed principles; and thoſe who ventured to engage too far fell into incoherence and confuſion.

Fourthly, Thoſe among them who had the juſteſt conceptions of a Divine power, and did alſo admit a Providence, had no notion at all of entirely relying and depending upon either; they truſted in themſelves for all things: but, as for a truſt or dependence upon God, they would not have underſtood the phraſe; it made no part of the profane ſtyle.

Therefore it was, that, in all iſſues and events, which they could not reconcile to their own ſentiments of reaſon and juſtice, they were quite diſconcerted: They had no retreat; but, upon every blow of adverſe fortune, either affected to be indifferent, or grew ſullen and ſevere, or elſe yielded and ſunk like other men.

Having now produced certain points, wherein the wiſdom and virtue of all unrevealed philoſophy fell ſhort, and was very imperfect; I go on, in the ſecond place, to ſhew, in ſeveral inſtances, where ſome of the moſt renowned philoſophers have been groſsly defective in their leſſons of morality.

Thales,

Thales, the founder of the *Ionic* ſect, ſo celebrated for morality, being aſked how a man might bear ill-fortune with greateſt eaſe, anſwered, "By "ſeeing his enemies in a worſe condition." An anſwer truly barbarous, unworthy of human nature, and which included ſuch conſequences as muſt deſtroy all ſociety from the world.

Solon, lamenting the death of a ſon, one told him, "You lament in vain:" "Therefore (ſaid "he) I lament, becauſe it is in vain." This was a plain confeſſion how imperfect all his philoſophy was, and that ſomething was ſtill wanting. He owned that all his wiſdom and morals were uſeleſs, and this upon one of the moſt frequent accidents in life. How much better could he have learned to ſupport himſelf even from *David*, by his entire dependence upon God; and that before our Saviour had advanced the notions of religion to the height and perfection wherewith he hath inſtructed his diſciples? *Plato* himſelf, with all his refinements, placed happineſs in wiſdom, health, good-fortune, honour, and riches; and held that they who enjoyed all theſe were perfectly happy: which opinion was indeed unworthy it's owner, leaving the wiſe and good man wholly at the mercy of uncertain chance, and to be miſerable without reſource.

His ſcholar, *Ariſtotle*, fell more groſsly into the ſame notion; and plainly affirmed: That virtue, without the goods of fortune, was not ſufficient for happineſs, but that a wiſe man muſt be miſera-ble

ble in poverty and ſickneſs. Nay, *Diogenes* himſelf, from whoſe pride and ſingularity one would have looked for other notions, delivered it as his opinion, That a poor old man was the moſt miſerable thing in life.

Zeno alſo and his followers fell into many abſurdities, among which nothing could be greater than that of maintaining all crimes to be equal, which, inſtead of making vice hateful, rendered it as a thing indifferent and familiar to all men.

Laſtly, *Epicurus* had no notion of juſtice but as it was profitable; and his placing happineſs in pleaſure, with all the advantages he could expound it by, was liable to very great exception: for, although he taught that pleaſure did conſiſt in virtue, yet he did not any way fix or aſcertain the boundaries of virtue, as he ought to have done; by which means he miſled his followers into the greateſt vices, making their names to become odious and ſcandalous, even in the Heathen world.

I have produced theſe few inſtances from a great many others, to ſhew the imperfection of Heathen philoſophy, wherein I have confined myſelf wholly to their morality. And ſurely we may pronounce upon it in the words of St. *James*, that *This wiſdom deſcended not from above, but was earthly and ſenſual.* What if I had produced their abſurd notions about God and the ſoul? It would then have compleated the character given it by that Apoſtle, and appeared to have been deviliſh too. But it is eaſy to obſerve, from the nature of theſe

few

few particulars, that their defects in morals were purely the flagging and fainting of the mind, for want of a support by revelation from God.

I proceed therefore, in the third place, to shew the perfection of Christian wisdom from above; and I shall endeavour to make it appear from those proper characters and marks of it by the Apostle before-mentioned, in the third chapter, and 15th, 16th, and 17th verses.

The words runs thus:

This wisdom descendeth not from above; but is earthly, sensual, devilish.

For where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work.

But the wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.

The wisdom from above is first pure. This purity of the mind and spirit is peculiar to the gospel. Our Saviour says, *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.* A mind free from all pollution of lusts shall have a daily vision of God, whereof unrevealed religion can form no notion. This is it which keeps us unspotted from the world; and hereby many have been prevailed upon to live in the practice of all purity, holiness, and righteousness, far beyond the examples of the most celebrated philosophers.

It is *peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated.* The Christian doctrine teacheth us all those dispositi-

ons that make us affable and courteous, gentle and kind, without any morose leaven of pride or vanity, which entered into the composition of most Heathen schemes: so we are taught to be meek and lowly. Our Saviour's last legacy was Peace; and he commands us to forgive our offending brother unto seventy times seven. Christian wisdom is full of mercy and good works, teaching the height of all moral virtues, of which the Heathens fall infinitely short. *Plato* indeed (and it is worth observing) has somewhere a dialogue, or part of one, about forgiving our enemies, which was perhaps the highest strain ever reached by man, without divine assistance; yet how little is that to what our Saviour commands us? *To love them that hate us; to bless them that curse us; and to do good to them that despitefully use us.*

Christian wisdom is *without partiality*; it is not calculated for this or that nation or people, but the whole race of mankind: not to the philosophical schemes, which were narrow and confined, adapted to their peculiar towns, governments, or sects; but, in every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.

Lastly, It is *without hypocrisy*: it appears to be what it really is; it is all of a piece. By the doctrines of the gospel, we are so far from being allowed to publish to the world those virtues we have not, that we are commanded to hide, even from ourselves, those we really have, and not to let our right hand know what our left hand does; unlike

several

several branches of the Heathen wisdom, which pretended to teach insensibility and indifference, magnanimity and contempt of life, while, at the same time, in other parts, it belied its own doctrines.

I come now, in the last place, to shew that the great examples of wisdom and virtue, among the *Grecian* sages, were produced by personal merit, and not influenced by the doctrine of any particular sect; whereas, in Christianity, it is quite the contrary.

The two virtues most celebrated by antient moralists were Fortitude and Temperance, as relating to the government of man in his private capacity, to which their schemes were generally addressed and confined; and the two instances, wherein those virtues arrived at the greatest height, were *Socrates* and *Cato*. But neither those, nor any other virtues possessed by these two, were at all owing to any lessons or doctrines of a sect. For *Socrates* himself was of none at all; and, although *Cato* was called a Stoick, it was more from a resemblance of manners in his worst qualities, than that he avowed himself one of their disciples. The same may be affirmed of many other great men of antiquity. From whence I infer, that those who were renowned for virtue among them, were more obliged to the good natural dispositions of their own minds, than to the doctrines of any sect they pretended to follow.

On

On the other ſide, as the examples of fortitude and patience, among the primitive Chriſtians, have been infinitely greater and more numerous, ſo they were altogether the product of their principles and doctrine; and were ſuch as the ſame perſons, without thoſe aids, would never have arrived to. Of this truth moſt of the apoſtles, with many thouſand martyrs, are a cloud of witneſſes beyond exception. Having therefore ſpoken ſo largely upon the former heads, I ſhall dwell no longer upon this.

And, if it ſhould here be objected, Why does not Chriſtianity ſtill produce the ſame effects? it is eaſy to anſwer, *Firſt*, that although the number of pretended Chriſtians be great, yet that of true believers, in proportion to the other, was never ſo ſmall; and it is a true lively faith alone, that, by the aſſiſtance of God's grace, can influence our practice.

Secondly, We may anſwer, that Chriſtianity itſelf has very much ſuffered by being blended up with Gentile philoſophy. The Platonic ſyſtem, firſt taken into religion, was thought to have given matter for ſome early hereſies in the church. When diſputes began to ariſe, the Peripatetic forms were introduced by *Scotus*, as beſt fitted for controverſy. And, however this may now have become neceſſary, it was ſurely the author of a litigious vein, which has ſince occaſioned very pernicious conſequences, ſtopt the progreſs of Chriſtianity, and been a great promoter of vice, verifying that ſentence given by St. *James*, and mentioned before,

Where

Where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work. This was the fatal stop to the *Grecians*, in their progress, both of arts and arms: their wise men were divided under several sects, and their governments under several commonwealths, all in opposition to each other; which engaged them in eternal quarrels among themselves, while they should have been armed against the common enemy. And I wish we had no other examples, from the like causes, less foreign or antient than that. *Diogenes* said, *Socrates* was a madman; the disciples of *Zeno* and *Epicurus*, nay of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, were engaged in fierce disputes about the most insignificant trifles. And, if this be the present language and practice among us Christians, no wonder that Christianity does not still produce the same effects which it did at first, when it was received and embraced in its utmost purity and perfection. For such a wisdom as this cannot *descend from above*, but must be *earthly, sensual, devilish; full of confusion and every evil work;* whereas *the wisdom from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy.* This is the true heavenly wisdom, which Christianity only can boast of; and which the greatest of the Heathen wise men could never arrive at.

Now to God the Father, &c. &c.

UPON GIVING BADGES TO THE POOR [g].

THE continual concourſe of beggars, from all parts of the kingdom, to this city, having made it impoſſible for the ſeveral pariſhes to maintain their own poor, according to the antient laws of the land; ſeveral lord mayors did apply themſelves to the lord archbiſhop of *Dublin*, that his grace would direct his clergy, and the church-wardens of the ſaid city, to appoint badges of braſs, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the ſeveral pariſhes. The badges to be marked with initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, *&c.* and to be well ſewed and faſtened on the right and left ſhoulder of the outward garment of each of the ſaid poor, by which they might be diſtinguiſhed. And that none of the ſaid poor ſhould go out of their own pariſh to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

His grace the lord archbiſhop did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverſeneſs, or pride of the ſaid poor; ſeveral of them

[g] See a Treatiſe on this ſubject, Vol. XI. p. 59.

openly

openly protesting they will never submit to wear the said badges; and of those who received them, almost every one keep them in their pockets, or hang them on a string about their necks, or fasten them only with a pin, or wear them under their coats, not to be seen. By which means the whole design is eluded; so that a man may walk from one end of the town to the other, without seeing one beggar regularly badged, and in such great numbers, that they are a mighty nusance to the publick, most of them being foreigners.

It is therefore proposed, That his grace the lord archbishop would please to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put the affair of badges effectually in practice, by such methods as his grace and they shall agree upon. And, I think, it would be highly necessary, that some paper should be pasted up, in several proper parts of the city, signifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to those poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are within the precincts of their own parishes. And, if something like this were delivered by the ministers, in the reading-desk, two or three Lord's days successively, it would still be of further use to put this matter upon a right foot. And that all who offend against this regulation be treated as vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

Deanry-house,
Sept. 26, 1726.

CONSIDER-

CONSIDERATIONS

ABOUT

MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amuſed, for at leaſt thirty years paſt, with numberleſs ſchemes in writing and diſcourſe, both in and out of parliament, for maintaining the poor and ſetting them to work, eſpecially in this city; moſt of which were idle, indigeſted, or viſionary, and all of them ineffectual, as it hath plainly appeared by the conſequences. Many of thoſe projectors were ſo ſtupid that they drew a parallel from *Holland* and *England*, to be ſettled in *Ireland*; that is to ſay, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the moſt beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of falſe and fooliſh reaſoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, ſeems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much converſed with thoſe folks who call themſelves merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong-thinking race of people in the very firſt rudiments of trade; which, however, was not ſo much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy conſtitution of this kingdom, where pedlars are better qualified to thrive than the wiſeſt merchants. I could fill a volume with only ſetting down

own a liſt of the public abſurdities, by which this kingdom hath ſuffered within the compaſs of my own memory, ſuch as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not eſtabliſhed as a law. I cannot forbear inſtancing a few of theſe, becauſe it may be of ſome uſe to thoſe who ſhall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The firſt was the building of the barracks, whereof I have ſeen above one half, and have heard enough of the reſt, to affirm that the publick hath been cheated of at leaſt two thirds of the money raiſed for that uſe, by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raiſed for the *Palatines*; when, inſtead of employing that great ſum in purchaſing land in ſome remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting thoſe people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is the inſurance-office againſt fire, by which ſeveral thouſand pounds are yearly remitted to *England* (a trifle, it ſeems, we can eaſily ſpare), and will gradually encreaſe until it comes to a good national tax. For the ſociety-marks upon our houſes (under which might properly be written, *The Lord have mercy upon us*) ſpread faſter and further than the [*b*] colony of frogs. I have for above

[*b*] This ſimilitude, which is certainly the fineſt that could poſſibly have been uſed upon this occaſion, ſeems to require a ſhort explica-

twenty

twenty years paſt, given warning ſeveral thouſand times, to many ſubſtantial people, and to ſuch who are acquainted with lords and ſquires, and the like great folks (to any of whom I have not the honour to be known): I mentioned my daily fears, leſt our watchful friends in *England* might take this buſineſs out of our hands; and how eaſy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a ſociety of perſons who had good eſtates, ſuch, for inſtance, as that noble knot of bankers under the ſtyle of *Swift and Company*. But now we are become tributary to *England*, not only for materials to light our own fires; but for engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added (repealed in *England* as a grievance), we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of thoſe merchants, or linen-manufacturers, or both; when upon occaſion of the plague at *Marſeilles*, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade with *Spain*; but the commodity was

tion. About the beginning of this current century, Dr. *Gwythers*, a Phyſician, and Fellow of the Univerſity of *Dublin*, brought over with him a parcel of frogs from *England* to *Ireland*, in order to propagate the ſpecies in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the Univerſity park; but they all periſhed. Whereupon he ſent to *England* for ſome bottles of the frog-ſpawn, which he threw into thoſe ditches, by which means the ſpecies of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was ſo ſmall in the year 1720, that a frog was no where to be ſeen in *Ireland*, except in the neighbourhood of the *Univerſity-park*: but, within ſix or ſeven years after, they ſpread thirty, forty, and fifty miles over the country; and ſo at laſt, by degrees, over the whole nation.

ſo

so bad, and held at ſo high a rate, that almoſt the whole cargo was returned, and the ſmall remainder ſold below the prime coſt.

So many other particulars of the ſame nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to ſtop; and the rather becauſe they are not very proper for my ſubject, to which I ſhall now return.

Among all the ſchemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and ſetting them to work, the leaſt weight hath been laid upon that ſingle point which is of greateſt importance; I mean that of keeping foreign beggars from ſwarming hither out of every part of the country; for, until this be brought to paſs effectually, all our wiſe reaſonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to ſo ſmall a number of people, is owing to many reaſons: to the lazineſs of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miſerable cabbins and potatoe-plots; their early marriages, without the leaſt proſpect of eſtabliſhment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby ſuch vaſt numbers are hindered from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchaſe it; the mortal damp upon all kinds of trade, and many other circumſtances too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the ſame cauſes we owe the perpetual concourſe of foreign beggars to this town, the coun-

try landlords giving all aſſiſtance, except money and victuals, to drive from their eſtates thoſe miſerable creatures they have undone.

It was a general complaint againſt the poor-houſe, under its former governors, that the number of poor in this city did not leſſen by taking three hundred into the houſe, and all of them recommended under the miniſter and church-wardens hands of the ſeveral pariſhes; and this complaint muſt ſtill continue, although the poor-houſe ſhould be enlarged to maintain three thouſand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-houſe, as it is now eſtabliſhed, amount to about two thouſand pounds a year; whereof, two hundred allowed for officers and one hundred for repairs, the remaining ſeventeen hundred, at four pounds a head, will ſupport four hundred and twenty-five perſons. This is a favourable allowance, conſidering that I ſubtract nothing for the diet of thoſe officers, and for wear and tear of furniture; and, if every one of theſe collegiates ſhould be ſet to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one fourth part of their maintenance.

At the ſame time, the oratorial part of theſe gentlemen ſeldom vouchſafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred, or two thouſand people, to be maintained in this hoſpital, without troubling their heads about the fund * * * * * * * * *
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TO

TO HIS GRACE

WILLIAM

LORD ARCHBISHOP of DUBLIN, &c.

The humble Reprefentation of the CLERGY of the City of DUBLIN.

MY LORD, *Jan.* 1724.

YOUR grace having been pleafed to communicate to us a certain brief, by letters-patent, for the relief of one *Charles M'Carthy*, whofe houfe in *College-green*, *Dublin*, was burnt by an accidental fire; and having defired us to confider of the faid brief, and give our opinions thereof to your grace,

We the clergy of the city of *Dublin*, in compliance with your grace's defire, and with great acknowledgements for your paternal tendernefs towards us, having maturely confidered the faid brief by letters-patent, compared the feveral parts of it with what is enjoined us by the rubrick (which is confirmed by act of parliament), and confulted perfons fkilled in the laws of the church; do, in the names of ourfelves and of the reft of our brethren, the clergy of the diocefe of *Dublin*, moft humbly reprefent to your grace:

Firft, That, by this brief, your grace is required and commanded, to recommend and command all

the parſons, vicars, &c. to advance ſo great an act of charity.

We ſhall not preſume to determine how far your grace may be commanded by the ſaid brief; but we humbly conceive that the clergy of your dioceſe cannot by any law now in being, be commanded by your grace to advance the ſaid act of charity, any otherwiſe than by reading the ſaid brief in our ſeveral churches, as preſcribed by the rubrick.

Secondly, Whereas it is ſaid in the ſaid brief, that the parſons, vicars, &c. upon the firſt Lord's-day, or opportunity after the receipt of the copy of the ſaid brief, ſhall, deliberately and affectionately, publiſh and declare the tenor thereof to his majeſty's ſubjects, and earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir them up to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of the ſaid ſufferer:

We do not comprehend what is meant by the word *opportunity*. We never do preach upon any day except the Lord's-day, or ſome ſolemn days legally appointed; neither is it poſſible for the ſtrongeſt conſtitution among us to obey this command (which includes no leſs than a whole ſermon) upon any other opportunity than when our people are met together in the church; and to perform this work in every houſe where the pariſhes are very populous, conſiſting ſometimes here in town of 900 or 1000 houſes, would take up the ſpace of a year, although we ſhould preach in two families every day; and almoſt as much time in the country, where the pariſhes are of large extent, the roads bad, and the

the people too poor to receive us, and give charity at once.

But, if it be meant that theſe exhortations are commanded to be made in the church, upon the Lord's-day, we are humbly of opinion, that it is left to the diſcretion of the clergy, to chuſe what ſubjects they think moſt proper to preach on, and at what times; and if they preach either falſe doctrines or ſeditious principles, they are liable to be puniſhed.

It may poſſibly happen that the ſufferer recommended may be a perſon not deſerving the favour intended by the brief; in which caſe no miniſter, who knows the ſufferer to be an undeſerving perſon, can with a ſafe conſcience deliberately and affectionately publiſh the brief, much leſs earneſtly perſuade, exhort, and ſtir up the people to contribute freely and chearfully towards the relief of ſuch a ſufferer [*b*].

Thirdly, Whereas, in the ſaid brief, the miniſters and curates are required, on the week-days next after the Lord's-day when the brief was read, to go from houſe to houſe, with their church-wardens, to aſk and receive from all perſons the ſaid charity: we cannot but obſerve here, that the ſaid miniſters are directly made collectors of the ſaid charity in conjunction with the church-wardens; which however, we preſume, was not intended, as being againſt

[*b*] This *M'Carthy's* houſe was burnt in the month of *Auguſt* 1723; and the univerſal opinion of mankind was, that *M'Carthy* himſelf was the perſon who ſet fire to the houſe.

 all

all law and precedent: and therefore, we apprehend, there may be some inconsistency, which leaves us at a loss how to proceed. For, in the next paragraph, the ministers and curates are only required, where they conveniently can, to accompany the church-wardens, or procure some other of the chief inhabitants to do the same. And, in a following paragraph, the whole work seems left intirely to the church-wardens, who are required to use their utmost diligence to gather and collect the said charity, and to pay the same, in ten days after, to the parson, vicar, &c.

In answer to this, we do represent to your grace our humble opinion, that neither we nor our church-wardens can be legally commanded or required to go from house to house to receive the said charity; because your grace hath informed us in your order, at your visitation *An. Dom.* 1712, that neither we nor our church-wardens are bound to make any collections for the poor, save in the church; which also appears plainly by the rubrick, that appoints both time and place, as your grace hath observed in your said order.

We do likewise assure your grace, that it is not in our power to procure some of the chief inhabitants of our parishes to accompany the church-wardens from house to house in these collections: and we have reason to believe, that such a proposal, made to our chief inhabitants (particularly in this city, where our chief inhabitants are often peers of the land), would be received in a manner very little

little to our own ſatisfaction, or to the advantage of the ſaid collections.

Fourthly, The brief doth will, require, and command the biſhops, and all other dignitaries of the church, that they make their contributions diſtinctly, to be returned in the ſeveral provinces to the ſeveral archbiſhops of the ſame.

Upon which we take leave to obſerve, that the terms of expreſſion here are of the ſtrongeſt kind, and in a point that may ſubject the ſaid dignitaries (for we ſhall ſay nothing of the biſhops) to great inconveniencies.

The ſaid dignitaries are here willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions diſtinctly; by which it ſhould ſeem that they are abſolutely commanded to make contributions (for the word *diſtinctly* is but a circumſtance), and may be underſtood not very agreeable to a voluntary, chearful contribution. And therefore, if any biſhop or dignitary ſhould refuſe to make his contribution (perhaps for very good reaſons), he may be thought to incur the crime of diſobedience to his majeſty, which all good ſubjects abhor, when ſuch a command is according to law.

Moſt dignities of this kingdom conſiſt only of parochial tithes, and the dignitaries are miniſters of pariſhes. A doubt may therefore ariſe, whether the ſaid dignitaries are willed, required, and commanded, to make their contributions in both capacities, diſtinctly as dignitaries, and jointly as parſons or vicars.

 Many

Many dignities in this kingdom are the poorest kind of benefices; and it ſhould ſeem hard to put poor dignitaries under the neceſſity either of making greater contributions than they can afford, or of expoſiing themſelves to the cenſure of wanting charity, by making their contributions public.

Our Saviour commands us, in works of charity, to *let not our left hand know what onr right hand doth*, which cannot well conſiſt with our being willed, required, and commanded by any earthly power where no law is preſcribed, to publiſh our charity to the world, if we have a mind to conceal it.

Fifthly, Whereas it is ſaid, in the ſaid brief, that the parſon, vicar, &c. of every pariſh, ſhall, in ſix days after the receipt of the ſaid charity, return it to his reſpective chancellor, &c. This may be a great grievance, hazard, and expence to the ſaid parſon, in remote and deſolate parts of the country, where often an honeſt meſſenger (if ſuch a one can be got) muſt be hired to travel forty or fifty miles going and coming; which will probably coſt more than the value of the contribution he carries with him. And this charge, if briefs ſhould happen to be frequent, would be enough to undo many a poor clergyman in the kingdom.

Sixthly, We obſerve in the ſaid brief, that the provoſt and fellows of the univerſity, judges, officers of the court, and profeſſors of laws common and civil, are neither willed, required, nor commanded, to make their contributions; but that, ſo good a work is only recommended to them. Whereas we

conceive,

conceive, that all his majesty's subjects are equally obliged, with or without his majesty's commands, to promote works of charity according to their power; and that the clergy, in their ecclesiastical capacity, are only liable to such commands as the rubrick, or any other law, shall enjoin, being born to the same privileges of freedom with the rest of his majesty's subjects.

We cannot but observe to your grace that, in the *English* act of the fourth year of queen *Anne*, for the better collecting charity-money on briefs by letters-patent, &c. the ministers are obliged only to read the briefs in their churches, without any particular exhortations; neither are they commanded to go from house to house with the church-wardens, nor to send the money collected to their respective chancellors, but pay it to the undertaker or agent of the sufferer. So that, we humbly hope, the clergy of this kingdom shall not, without any law in being, be put to greater hardships in this case than their brethren in *England*, where the legislature, intending to prevent the abuses in collecting charity-money on briefs, did not think fit to put the clergy under any of those difficulties we now complain of in the present brief by letters patent, for the relief of *Charles M'Carthy* aforesaid.

The collections upon the Lord's-day are the principal support of our own numerous poor in our several parishes; and therefore every single brief, with the benefit of a full collection over the whole kingdom, must deprive several thousands of poor

poor of their weekly maintenance, for the ſake only of one perſon, who often becomes a ſufferer by his own folly or negligence, and is ſure to over-value his loſſes double or treble: ſo that, if this precedent be followed, as it certainly will if the preſent brief ſhould ſucceed, we may probably have a new brief every week; and thus, for the advantage of fifty-two perſons, whereof not one in ten is deſerving, and for the intereſt of a dozen dextrous clerks and ſecretaries, the whole poor in the kingdom will be likely to ſtarve.

We are credibly informed, that neither the officers of the lord primate, in preparing the report of his grace's opinion, nor thoſe of the great-ſeal, in paſſing the patent for briefs, will remit any of their fees, both which do amount to a conſiderable ſum: and thus the good intentions of well-diſpoſed people are in a great meaſure diſappointed, a large part of their charity being anticipated and alienated by fees and gratuities.

Laſtly, We cannot but repreſent to your grace our great concern and grief, to ſee the pains and labour of our church-wardens ſo much encreaſed, by the injunctions and commands put upon them in this brief, to the great diſadvantage of the clergy and the people, as well as to their own trouble, damage, and loſs of time, to which great additions have been already made, by laws appointing them to collect the taxes for the watch and the poorhouſe, which they bear with great unwillingneſs; and, if they ſhall find themſelves further laden with ſuch

such briefs as this of *McCarthy*, it will prove so great a discouragement, that we shall never be able to provide honest and sufficient persons for that weighty office of church-warden, so necessary to the laity as well as the clergy, in all things that relate to the order and regulation of parishes.

Upon all these considerations, we humbly hope that your grace, of whose fatherly care, vigilance, and tenderness, we have had so many and great instances, will represent the case to his most excellent majesty, or the chief governor in this kingdom, in such a manner, that we may be neither under the necessity of declining his majesty's commands in his letters patent, or of taking new and grievous burthens upon ourselves and our church-wardens, to which neither the rubrick nor any other law in force obliges us to submit.

AN

ANSWER TO BICKERSTAFF.

Some reflexions upon Mr. Bickerstaff's predictions for the Year MDCCVIII [i].

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

I HAVE not observed, for some years past, any insignificant paper to have made more noise, or be more greedily bought, than that of these predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amusement for the better sort, and a jest only to the wise: yet, among these last, I have heard some very much in doubt, whether the author meant deceive others, or is deceived himself. Whoever he was, he seems to have with great art adjusted his paper both to please the rabble and to entertain persons of condition. The writer is, without question, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece seems hastily written in a sudden frolick, with the scornful thought of the pleasure he will have, in putting this great town into a wonderment about

[i] See Vol. III.

nothing:

nothing: nor do I doubt but he, and his friends in the secret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many hundred thousand fools they have already made. And he has them fast for some time: for so they are like to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great question whether the miscarriage of the two or three first will so entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them from expecting the accomplishment of the rest. I doubt not but some thousands of these papers are carefully preserved by as many persons, to confront with the events, and try whether the astrologer exactly keeps the day and hour. And these I take to be Mr. *Bickerstaff's* choicest cullies, for whose sake chiefly he writ his amusement. Meanwhile he has seven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in suspense; for it is so long before the almanack-maker is to die, which is the first prediction: and, if that fellow happens to be a splenetic visionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the prophesy may punctually come to pass by very natural means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill-used by a mercer in town, writ him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a slow poison into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which the man began in earnest to languish and decay, by the mere strength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him before the jest went too far. The like effect upon *Partridge* would

would wonderfully raiſe Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from *France* whether the cardinal *De Noailles* were dead or alive upon the fourth of *April*, which is the ſecond of his predictions.

For a piece ſo careleſsly written, the obſervations upon aſtrology are reaſonable and pertinent, the remarks juſt; and, as the paper is partly deſigned, in my opinion, for a ſatire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, ſo it is no more than what we all of us deſerve. And, ſince we muſt be teazed with perpetual hawkers of *ſtrange and wonderful* things, I am glad to ſee a man of ſenſe find leiſure and humour to take up the trade for his own and our diverſion. To ſpeak in the town phraſe, it is a *bite*; he has fully had his jeſt, and may be ſatisfied.

I very much approve the ſerious air he gives himſelf in his introduction and concluſion, which has gone far to give ſome people of no mean rank an opinion that the author believes himſelf. He tells us, "He places the whole credit of his art on the "truth of theſe predictions, and will be content "to be hooted by *Partridge* and the reſt for a cheat, "if he fails in any one particular;" with ſeveral other ſtrains of the ſame kind, wherein I perfectly believe him: and that he is very indifferent whether *Iſaac Bickerſtaff* be a *mark of infamy* or not. But it ſeems, although he has joined an odd ſurname to no very common Chriſtian one, that in this large

town

town there is a man found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no ſmall mortification to this gentleman aſtrologer, as well as his bookſeller, to find their piece, which they ſent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately ſeized on by three or four interloping printers of *Grub-ſtreet*, the title ſtuffed with an abſtract of the whole matter, together with the ſtandard epithets of *ſtrange and wonderful*, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferior claſs, with the concluding cadence of *A halfpenny apiece*. But *ſic cecidit Phaeton*: and, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the ſame fate: to-morrow will my ears be grated by the *little boys* and *wenches in ſtraw-hats*, and I muſt an hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to ſale at an under-value. Then, which is a great deal worſe, my acquaintance in the coffee-houſe will aſk me whether I have ſeen the *Anſwer to 'ſquire Bickerſtaff's predictions*, and whether I know the puppy that writ it: and how to keep a man's countenance in ſuch a juncture is no eaſy point of conduct. When, in this caſe, you ſee a man ſhy either in praiſing or condemning, ready to turn off the diſcourſe to another ſubject, ſtanding as little in the light as he can to hide his bluſhing, pretending to ſneeze, or take ſnuff, or go off as if ſudden buſineſs called him; then ply him cloſe, obſerve his looks narrowly, ſee whether his ſpeech be conſtrained or affected

affected, then charge him ſuddenly, or whiſper and ſmile, and you will ſoon diſcover whether he be guilty. Although this ſeem not to the purpoſe I am diſcourſing on, yet I think it to be ſo; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of *Bickerſtaff's Perdictions*, and did not meet with him ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe at *Covent-Garden*.

As to the matter of the Predictions themſelves, I ſhall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr. *Partridge* to take them into his conſideration, and lay as many errors in aſtrology as poſſible to Mr. *Bickerſtaff's* account. He may juſtly, I think, challenge the 'ſquire to publiſh the calculation he has made of *Partridge's* nativity, by the credit of which he ſo determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr. *Bickerſtaff* can do no leſs, in honour, than give Mr. *Partridge* the ſame advantage of calculating *his*, by ſending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars neceſſary for ſuch a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the diſpute, and take part on each ſide according as they are inclined.

I ſhould likewiſe adviſe Mr. *Partridge* to enquire, why Mr. *Bickerſtaff* does not ſo much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled until two months after the time of publiſhing his paper. This looks a little ſuſpicious, as if he were deſirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could; elſe it were hard

hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of *March*; which is not so fair dealings as we have even from Mr. *Partridge* and his brethren, who give us their predictions (such as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one passage in Mr. *Bickerstaff's* paper that seems to be as high a strain of assurance as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of *June* which relates to the *French* prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They "will utterly disperse, by seeing the time come, "wherein their prophecies should be fulfilled, and "then finding themselves deceived by contrary "events." Upon which he adds, with great reason, "his wonder how any deceiver can be so weak, "to foretel things near at hand, when a very few "months must discover the imposture to all the "world." This is spoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedness, as if he would have us think himself to be not under the least apprehension, that the same in two months will be his own case. With respect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of so refined and pleasant a piece of impudence, which I hope the author will not resent as an uncivil word, because I am sure I enter into his taste, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deserves a reprimand for writing with so much scorn and contempt for the understandings of the majority.

For the month of *July*, he tells us of "a general, who, by a glorious action, will recover the "reputation

"reputation he loſt by former misfortunes." This is commonly underſtood to be lord *Galloway*; who if he be already dead, as ſome news-papers have it, Mr. *Bickerſtaff* has made a trip. But this I do not much inſiſt on; for it is hard if *another general* cannot be found under the *ſame circumſtances*, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The *French* king's death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at *Marli*, where he never goes at that ſeaſon of the year, as I obſerved myſelf during three years I paſſed in that kingdom: and, diſcourſing ſome months ago with monſieur *Tallard*, about the *French* court, I find that king never goes to *Marli* for any time, but about the ſeaſon of hunting there, which is not till *Auguſt*. So that here was an unlucky ſlip of Mr. *Bickerſtaff*, for want of foreign education.

He concludes with reſuming his promiſe, of publiſhing entire predictions for the next year; of which the other aſtrologers need not be in very much pain. I ſuppoſe we ſhall have them much about the ſame time with *The General Hiſtory of Ears*. I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and though I am no aſtrologer, may venture to propheſy that *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, Eſq; is now dead, and died juſt at the time his predictions were ready for the preſs: that he dropped out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps deſcend a ſecond time, when he has ſome new, agreeable, or amuſing

whimſy

whimſy to paſs upon the town; wherein, it is very probable, he will ſucceed as often as he is diſpoſed to try the experiment, that is, as long as he can preſerve a thorough contempt for his own time and other people's underſtandings, and is reſolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expence of a million of people.

H I N T S

ON

GOOD MANNERS [*k*].

GOOD Manners is the art of making every reaſonable perſon in the company eaſy, and to be eaſy ourſelves.

What paſſeth for good-manners in the world, generally produceth quite contrary effects.

Many perſons of both ſexes, whom I have known, and who paſſed for well-bred in their own and the world's opinion, are the moſt troubleſome in company to others and themſelves.

Nothing is ſo great an inſtance of ill-manners as flattery. If you flatter all the company, you pleaſe none; if you flatter only one or two, you affront the reſt.

Flattery is the worſt and falſeſt way of ſhewing our eſteem.

Where company meets, I am confident the few reaſonable perſons are every minute tempted to curſe the man or woman among them, who endeavours to be moſt diſtinguiſhed for their good-manners.

A man of ſenſe would rather faſt till night, than dine at ſome tables, where the lady of the houſe is poſſeſſed with good-manners; uneaſineſs, preſſing to eat, teazing with civility; leſs practiſed in *England* than here.

[*k*] See a treatiſe on this ſubject, Vol. XV.

Courts are the worst of all schools to teach good-manners.

A courtly bow, or gait, or dress, are no part of good-manners. And therefore every man of good understanding is capable of being well-bred upon any occasion.

To speak in such a manner as may possibly offend any reasonable person in company, is the highest instance of ill-manners.

Good-manners chiefly consist in action, not in words. Modesty and humility the chief ingredients.

I have known the court of *England* under four reigns, the two last but for a short time; and, whatever good-manners or politeness I observed in any of them, was not of the court growth, but imported. For a courtier by trade, as gentlemen ushers, bedchamber-women, maids of honour, *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Of good manners as to conversation.

Men of wit and good understanding, as well as breeding, are sometimes deceived, and give offence, by conceiving a better opinion of those with whom they converse than they ought to do. Thus I have often known the most innocent raillery, and even of that kind which was meant for praise, to be mistaken for abuse and reflexion.

Of gibing, and how gibers ought to suffer.

Of arguers, perpetual contradicters, long talkers, who are absent in company, interrupters, not listeners, loud laughers.

 Of

Of thoſe men and women whoſe face is ever in a ſmile, talk ever with a ſmile, condole with a ſmile, &c.

Argument, as uſually managed, is the worſt ſort of converſation; as it is generally, in books, the worſt ſort of reading.

Good converſation is not to be expected in much company, becauſe few liſten, and there is continual interruption. But good or ill manners are diſcovered, let the company be ever ſo large.

Perpetual aiming at wit a very bad part of converſation. It is done to ſupport a character: It generally fails: it is a ſort of inſult on the company, and a conſtraint upon the ſpeaker.

For a man to talk in his own trade, or buſineſs, or faculty, is a great breach of good manners. Divines, phyſicians, lawyers, ſoldiers, particularly poets, are frequently guilty of this weakneſs. A poet conceives that the whole kingdom * * *
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RESOLU-

RESOLUTIONS

WHEN

I COME TO BE OLD.

Written in the Year 1699.

NOT to marry a young woman.

Not to keep young company, unleſs they really deſire it.

Not to be peeviſh, or moroſe, or ſuſpicious.

Not to ſcorn preſent ways, or wits, or faſhions, or men, or war, &c.

Not to be fond of children.

Not to tell the ſame ſtory over and over to the ſame people.

Not to be covetous.

Not to neglect decency or cleanlineſs, for fear of falling into naſtineſs.

Not to be over ſevere with young people, but give allowances for their youthful follies and weakneſſes.

Not to be influenced by, or give ear to, knaviſh tattling ſervants, or others.

Not to be too free of advice, nor trouble any but thoſe who deſire it.

To deſire ſome good friends to inform me which of theſe reſolutions I break or neglect, and wherein; and reform accordingly.

Not

Not to talk much, nor of myſelf.

Not to boaſt of my former beauty, or ſtrength, or favour with ladies, &c.

Not to hearken to flatteries, nor conceive I can be beloved by a young woman; *et eos qui hæreditatem captant, odiſſe ac vitare.*

Not to be poſitive or opiniative.

Not to ſet up for obſerving all theſe rules, for fear I ſhould obſerve none.

END OF VOL. XVI.